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CONTENT

Miscellany:

Reviews:



Ea h God l B o z B ngkok Mu n

The Indian Historical Quarterly

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The Earth Goddess in Buddhist Art

In the great drama of the Great Enlightenment (*mahāsambodhi*) in the life of the Buddha—the Contest with and Victory over Māra (Māradharṣaṇa, Māravijaya cp. the epithet Mārābhibhū) is a major incident in the story. Though the contest with Māra is alluded to in the early texts (*Dīgha-nikāya* ii 261, iii 260) we do not come across any details and particulars of the Assault of Māra and his defeats until we come to the Pali commentaries and the later texts which seem to suggest that although legends relating to the details of the contest may have grown up quite early in the shape of poetical embellishments, the actual mythological development with significant iconographic details belongs to later times.[1] The account given in the *Mahāvastu* (ii 281, here cited in Thomas's abridged version) is earlier than the version of the Pali commentaries and of the *Lalita-vistara* and is probably derived from earlier sources. "Then the Bodhisattva ... removed from his robe his golden arm with netted hands and copper-hued nails ... and with his right hand smote the earth. Then the great earth roared and sounded forth a deep and terrible sound. Māra's army so mighty, so well arranged, alarmed, terrified, agitated, distracted and horrified dispersed and melted away".[2] This text notwithstanding its tiring verbosity does not offer any new embellishment or details of the incident. The commotion of the Earth is referred to in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* iii 13-19) where it is stated that the Earth shakes, trembles and agitates (*pathavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati*) on the advent of various significant incidents in

1 See B. C. Law's paper 'Buddhist Conception of Māra' in *Buddhistic Studies*, Ch. X.

2 The corresponding passage in the *Lalita-vistara* (Lefmann 318) runs as follows: *dakṣiṇena pāṇinā sarvakāyam parimārjya salīlaṃ mahīm parāhanati*

the Birth and Life of the Buddha e.g the Conception, the Birth, the Enlightenment etc. The *Mahāvastu* account is perhaps the earliest authority for the "Earth-touching gesture" (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*) plastically rendered in the iconography of the image, of which the earliest sculptural rendering occurs in the images of the Amarāvatī and the Gāndhāra School Yet the legend of the Earth being called to witness, though implied, is not explicitly indicated in the *Mahāvastu* version. In the Pāli commentaries the incident is developed (it is impossible to say if this is an independent development, or a loan from earlier floating legends) in the form of a spirited dialogue between the Bodhisattva and Māra "Verily I fear not, Māra." "Why dost thou not fear?" "Through having performed the perfections of the merits of alms-giving and others" "Who knowest that thou hast given alms?" "Is there need of a witness here, evil one? When in one birth I became Vessantara and gave alms, through the power thereof this great earth quaked seven times in six ways, and gave witness. Thereupon the great earth as far as the ocean quaked, uttering a terrible sound" "And Māra terrified at hearing it like a dropped stone lowered his flag, and fled with his host." In the *Nidānakathā* there is a slightly developed version "And withdrawing his right-hand from beneath his robe, he stretched it forth towards the "earth," and said "Art thou, or art thou not witness of the seven hundred-fold great gift I gave in my birth as Vessantara?" And the great Earth uttered a voice, saying "I am witness to thee of that!" overwhelming as it were the hosts of Māra as with the shout of hundreds of thousands of foes." (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, Broadway Translations, pp 195-196). The significant development in this version is in the fact that while in the two earlier texts the earth testifies by a 'trembling', here, the Earth speaks out in a voice. In the next version (that of the *Lalitavistara*) the voice assumes a visible form. "The Great Earth as soon as touched by the Bodhisattva, shook and trembled (in six forms of agitation). Like unto the brass vessels used by the citizens of Magadha, when struck by a piece of wood, the Great Earth, when struck by the hand of the Bodhisattva, rang out in a metallic twang which vibrated and resounded. And then the Spirit of the Great Earth known as the Immovable (*Sthāvarā nāma mahā-prithivīdevatā*) splitting the ground with tremor, very near the Bodhisattva and showing half the body (*ardha-kāya*) decked with all manner of jewels, and bending the same with joint palms thus addressed the Bodhisattva: "That is so, O! Super-man, that is so.



Fig 1 Effigy on pedestal of a Gandhara Image No 777 Lahore Museum

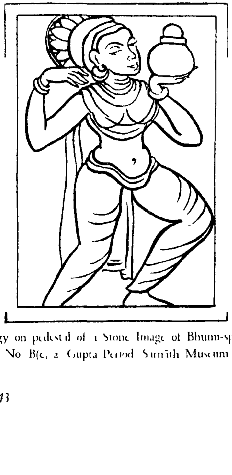


Fig 2 Effigy on pedestal of a Stone Image of Bhumi-sparśa Buddha, No B(c) 2 Gupta Period Sarnāth Museum

I am eye-witness to what Thou hast uttered . . With these words, Sthāvarā, the Spirit of the Great Earth, after having administered all manner of chastisements to the sinful Māra, and having displayed her glory, disappeared then and there with her cortêge." (Free translation of Lefmann's text of the *Lalita Vistara*, II, pp. 318-319) In this version, the chastisement of the Earth Goddess does not put to flight Māra and his army He does not give up his attack but changes his tactics and sends his two daughters to tempt the Bodhisattva. An effigy of the Goddess, seen up to the waist, and emerging out of lotus petals—appear to be represented on one of the fragments of the Gāndhāra School (Lahore Museum, No 777) (Fig 1)

In one of the images, in 'earth-touching gesture', of the Gupta period (?) dug up at Sarnāth, on the pedestal, half the figure of the Earth Goddess is depicted as emerging from the surface of the earth carrying a vessel (*kalasa*) of sacred water In this connection the *Vessantara Jātaka*, and its various plastic illustrations come to our aid According to the old Vedic practice,[3] every gift has to be ratified and consecrated by the rite of sprinkling of holy water (*abhiseka*). In the Bharhut relief illustrating the gift of the Jetavana grove by Anāthapindika and in Gāndhāra reliefs illustrating the *Vessantara Jātaka*, King Vessantara carries a water-vessel (*bhrngāra*) from which he pours the lustral water in ratifying the gift of the Elephant—which is followed by other gifts of all his possessions including his children and wife It is the accumulated merit of the great gifts, the great sacrifices of the Buddha (or, in the words of Māra's elephant Giri-mekhalā, "the uttermost gift given by thee, Siddhārtha") collected in the bosom of the Earth in the shape of the waters of the donative rituals, poured from the ritual vessel (*abhiseka-kumbha*) And it is this piece of concrete evidence that the Earth-Goddess carries up in a vessel as represented in a tiny figure on the pedestal of more than one relief, at Sarnāth, one of which is cited, here, in Fig 2

In a later development of this legend we are treated to a more poetic version According to this developed and more imaginative version, the waters from the ritual vessel consecrating the various gifts of the Buddha in his former life percolated through the soil, and drenched and soaked the heavy tresses of the long hair of the Earth Goddess (*Vasundharā*) And

3 "In Ancient India there existed the custom of the donors pouring water upon the ground when they made donations of lands or endowed temples and the like (*Salila-dhārā-pūrvvakam*)" (S C Mitra 'On an Ancient Indian Custom', *Hindusthan Review*, April, 1918, p 332).

when summoned by the Bodhisattva to testify to his donative merits, accumulated through the ages, the Goddess, who was carrying the ritual waters (*dakkhiṇodaka*) hidden in her hair, wrung her long tresses with her hand, and streams of water, like unto the Ganges, flowed out of her hair in mighty torrents and swept away Māra and his formidable army. This is the version which has been unearthed by that astute scholar Dr. Coedès, from a late Pāli text known as *Pathamasambodhi*, very well-known in Mss. current in Siam and Cambodia I quote the relevant passage "Bho Avanitala! mayhaṃ samatiṃsa pāramiyo pūrentassa Vessantarattabhāve thatvā puttadāra-pariccāgam katvā satta-satakamahādānam datvā samanā vā brāhmaṇā vā sakkhikatā n'atthi. Bho Avanitala! idāni kasmā na sakkhîti Tadā Vasundharā-vanitā Bodhisattassa sambhārānubhāvena attānam sandhāretum asakkontî Pathavîtalato utthahitvā itthisāmaññatāya Bodhisattassa pūrato thatvā· "Tāta Mahāpurisa! aham tava sambhāram jānāmi tava dakkhinodakena mama kesā alliyanti, idām parivattavissāmî"—ti vadantā viya tāvad eva attano kese parivattitvā visajjesi Tassā kesato udakam pati tam yathā Gangodakasotam pavattati Atha te Mārasenā palāyiṃsu. Girimekhalapādā pana pakkhalitvā yāva sāgarantam pavisanti'

Rendered in a free translation, the passage reads as follows

"O! Earth! I have achieved the thirty Perfections and in my existence as Vessantara, I made the sacrifice of my wife and of my children and I have distributed gifts by several hundreds at a time but I have no monk nor Brāhmaṇa to bear testimony (to my assertion) O! Earth, why are you not (coming forth) as my witness now? Then Lady Vasundharā, being unable to hold herself by the sense of appreciation of the weight of spiritual treasures of the Bodhisattva, came forth from beneath the Earth, and assuming the common form of women placed herself in front of the Bodhisattva, said. 'Respected Super-Man! I know of the magnitude of thy (spiritual) riches, the tresses of my hair are saturated with the ritual-water of your gifts, let me wring out the water now'. With these words she immediately began to wring her tresses of hair and discharge the water From her hair water oozed out like the flow of the water of the river Ganges At this, the army of Māra being unable to keep its footing, fled away. The feet of elephant Giri-mekhalā slipped and it was washed away into the sea'[4] This developed version of the story with

4 H Alabaster (*The Wheel of the Law*, London, 1871, pp 154-155) who



Fig. 3 Effigy on pedestal on a Stone Image of the Buddha, Pāla School, Indian Museum, Calcutta



Fig. 4 Portion of a Tibetan Tangka, Musée Guimet, Paris

picturesque embellishments has not been traced in any text earlier than the *Pathamasambodhi*, which cannot be precisely dated. The earliest plastic representation of this version has been traced by Dr. Coedès in a sculptured stèle from Ankor Vat, datable about the 11th century. On this relief (Fig 5) which represents the Assault of Māra, the image of the Earth-Goddess is indicated (unlike the situation on Gupta reliefs) on the left side of the seated Buddha, standing on a lotus and holding the tresses of hair in her hands. Māra on his elephant Giri-mekhalā is shown in two positions, one at the beginning of the assault on the left corner, and second time on the right side—at the moment when the feet of the elephant squids in the inundation as suggested by the text cited by Coedès This version of the legend must, therefore, be earlier than the 11th century, and has to be distinguished, in fundamental details, from earlier version of the legend followed in the relief of the Gupta School (6th to 7th century) cited from Sarnath The fundamental innovation is the elimination of the jar, containing the donative water of lustration (*dakkhinodaka*), and the replacing of it by tresses saturated with them This version has no parallel in any Buddhist reliefs hitherto discovered in India Though no lithic representation has been forthcoming, Coedès believed that the version probably developed on Indian soil In some of the Tibetan illustrations of the story, as for instance, on a Tibetan banner (Bacot Collection, Musée Guimet, Paris) here cited in a drawing (Fig 4), the Earth-Goddess, at the centre, carries no jar Curiously, though no Indian illustration of the version has been found in India, illustrations have been traced in Burma Cambodia and Siam Another curious development of the form of the Earth-Goddess in Greater India consists in the fact that while in India, in the examples so far

gives an English version of 'a life of the Buddha', derived from Siamese sources, has rendered the story in the following words

"And the angel of the earth, unable to resist his invocation, sprang from the earth in the shape of a lovely woman with long flowing hair and standing before him answered O Being more excellent than angels or men! It is true that when you performed your great works you ever poured water on my hair And with these words she wrung her long hair, and a stream, a flood of waters gushed forth from it Onward against the host of Māra the mighty torrent rushed His generals were over-turned, his elephant swept away by the waters, his royal insignia destroyed, and his whole army fled in utter confusion, amid the roarings of a terrific earthquake, and peals of thunder crashing through the skies" If Alabaster's version is an accurate translation, then the Siamese text used by him must have been a different text

traced,—it occurs as a subordinate figure, introduced in the scenes depicting the Assault of Māra, as *one* of the *dramatis personae* in the story,—in Burma and Siam, the figure is represented independently, as we shall presently see.

In Burma, the figure of the Earth-Goddess known under the name of Vasundharā (vulgarized in Burma as 'Wasundhāye') occurs in almost all the pagodas, represented in the form of a gracious lady, either seated or standing, with the tresses of her hair brought over her left shoulder, across her bust, and represented in the act of squeezing out water from her hair. A majority of the examples, at least, belongs to fairly early times. A fragment of a sculpture in stone representing Vasundharā has been found at Wethali (Vesali) in Arakan in 1920, which (according to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma), "may be safely assigned to the 9th or 10th century." Another, example in wood (now in the Pagan Museum) has been dug up from a ruined temple near Pagan and have been assigned to the 14th or 15th century (Fig. 7). It is markedly Chinese in style, and it has been suggested that it may have come from China. If this suggested *provenance* is correct—the version of the legend must have been also current in Chinese Buddhism. There is some doubt in orthodox Buddhist circles in Burma if the Earth-Divinity is a male or female. In all known examples it is a goddess, and should be so, as she must have long tresses of hair from which she has to squeeze out water. The doubt may have been suggested by the word "mahāprthivī-devatā" in the *Lalitavistara*, but other words in the same text leave no doubt that it is a goddess. The only other Burmese example which remains to be cited is the representation of the goddess in a very late fresco on the walls of the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay.

The most important example from Cambodia has been cited above. The only other example so far known occurs on one of the façades of the sanctuary at Vat Nokor near Kompong-Cham (Fournereau, *Ruines Khmerès*, pl. 71) (Fig. 6). But, the finest examples, all of them independent figures, have come from Siam. A fine bronze figure of the Divinity (now in the Bangkok Museum) was cited by Fournereau many years ago and is here reproduced in the Frontispiece. It is a seated form and in its graceful pose undoubtedly represents one of the finest example of Siamese sculpture, unhappily not noticed by May in his excellent monograph. An equally fine example in standing pose has been cited by Salmony in his



Fig 5
Stone Relief from Angkor-Vat, c 11th century

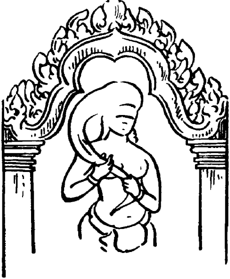


Fig 6
Relief from the façade of a Buddhist Temple, Vat Nokor near Kompong Cham



Fig 7
Seated Earth Goddess, Bangkok Museum, Siam

study of ***Sculpture in Siam*** from which it is borrowed here (Fig 8) Two other representations in stone reliefs (said to have come from Ayuthia) have been cited by Salmony (Plate 69, A & B) which appear to be related to the images of Vasundharā. They are differently posed, one wringing her hair by stretching the left arm while the other twists her hair across her right arm The first one is depicted in a dynamic movement almost imitating the poses of flying Apsaras, while the other one is represented in a seated pose They appear to have been decorative slabs on the façade of some temple In the absence of particulars of their provenance it is impossible to speculate about their function At any rate, in the pose of twisting their hair these figures (Salmony, Pl 69) are closely related to the images of Vasundharā, if they do not actually represent the Earth-Goddess A painted pottery relief from Svargaloka, (Siam) cited by Coedès (Pl XI, *Ars Asiatica*, vol XII) may be a representative of the Goddess and recalls, in its floral base from which the adorning figure emerges, a similar motif in the Gāndhāra piece cited above (Fig 1) The representation of the Earth-Goddess in independent figures met with in Siam and Burma, unrelated to the story of Māra's Assault, calls for an explanation For, in the Indian representations, the goddess is never represented as an independent icon It is very significant that in Siam this Angel of the Earth (Vasundharā) has a Siamese popular name "Pra Torani" (Torani = *dharani*, earth) and she is a very popular goddess worshipped as the great mother of all mankind (Thomson, *Lotus Land*, p 93) And the use of the image as an independent icon may be explained by the fact that Vasundharā is generally placed in Ordination Halls, in Siam as well as in Burma, and performs the function of a witness to any donation of gifts or offering, or to any other acts of merits on the part of a lay-worshipper This function appears to have given to the Earth Goddess an independent status in Burmese and Siamese Buddhism calling for a separate icon of the goddess unrelated to the story of Māra's Assault In these independent representations she is the ever-present divinity of the Earth an eye-witness to all the acts of merits or demerits of all human beings

This is borne out by the Formula of Dedication in Pāli still used in Burma by donors in consecrating any gift, the Earth-Goddess Vasundharā being invoked by them as a witness to the meritorious act That this Formula is modelled on the legend of Vasundharā and the ancient practice of pouring 'libation water' (***dakkhiṇodakam***) in Formula (***Kamma vācā***) here given in translation, the text being quoted in the foot-note.

"Reverend Sir: We pin our faith in the doctrine of Karma and its fruition. We take upon ourselves the observance of the five precepts. Having done so we also give in charity all these charitable commodities to you, venerable sirs, by the pouring of libation water.

May we, venerable sir, by virtue of this good deed quickly attain nirvāṇa where rebirth, old age, disease and death are unknown. As long as we have not attained nirvāṇa so long and for that period of time, in the course of our repeated rebirths, may we experience and enjoy the bliss of the best form of human and heavenly happiness better than the happiness enjoyed by others.

Reverend Sir! We share this merit of ours with our parents of excellent virtue, with our teachers, with all our kinsmen and friends etc., with our kings and deities.

May the aforesaid living beings get equal share of merit with us and may they rejoice over our act of merit.

Should we forget about our this act of merit, may the Earth-god or goddess Vasundharā stand as our witness".[5]

The group of representations of the Buddhist Earth-Goddess cited, here, offer a very interesting phase of myth-making in Buddhist religion and help us to realize how the tiny effigy on the seats of the images of a type of the Buddha of the Gupta period develops into an independent icon with almost a cult of its own. Incidentally, the developed legend offers to the artists of Siam an opportunity to present the Earth-Goddess in remarkably conceived sculptural forms of exquisite movement and grace. Though the earliest representations of the goddess appear to have been formulated in

5 "Mayam bhante kammañca kammaphalañca saddhahitvā tisaranena saha pañcasîlam samādiyāma. Samādiyitvā imāni nānā dātabbavatthūni ayasmantānam dakkhinodakam pātetvā dema.

Mayam bhante iminā puñña kammena ajātim ajaram avyadhim amatam nibbānam sigham pāpunissāma. Yāva nibbānam na pāpunissāma tāva samsāre samsarantā atiukkattham parehi adhikataram manussasampattim ca dibbasampattim ca anubhaveyyāma.

Mayam bhante idam puññabhāgam gunavisitthatarānam mātâpitūnnañca ācariyānañ ca ñātimittasamūhādînam ca rājūnañca devānañ ca dema yathā vuttā sabba sattā amhehi samam puññabhāgam labhitvā anumodantu. Amhesu pamattesu pi ayam Vasundharā amhākam sakkhitthāne titthatu."

[The writer is indebted, for the above citation, to the kind courtesy of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma Circle].



Fig. 8 Standing Earth Goddess Bangkok, Siam

Cambodia,—the Siamese sculptors render the icon in an original and a characteristically local style of their own.

Since the above was set in type several new data have cropped up which, while they complicate the problem of the iconography of Pṛthvî Devî, and its evolutional forms, help to study the forms of this goddess from the Hindu Brahmanical point of view.

Several representations of the goddess have been recently traced on some mediaeval Hindu monuments of the South, of which the earliest example is the one on a pillar of the mandapa in front of the Bṛhan-nāyiki shrine, at the Brhadîśvara temple (an early eleventh century Cola temple) at Tanjore It is impossible to say if this is the earliest representation of the goddess on a Brahmanical monument, as we have not been able to trace any earlier example (Photo No 1498 of 1936-37, Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy) Of later examples, the most significant are those appearing as bas-reliefs on some Vijayanagara monuments One occurs on a pillar in the Kalyāna-maṇḍapa of the Viṭṭhala-swāmin temple at Hampi, Bellary (Photo No 1456 of 1936-37, *Ibid*) Another occurs on a pillar in a subsidiary mandapa at the Acyutarāya temple at Hampi (Photo No. 1385 for 1935-36, *Ibid*). Yet another occurs on the basement of the Gopura of the Hazara Rāma temple at Hampi (Photo No 1388 for 1935-36, *Ibid*) As will appear from the drawings (Figs. 9, 10 & 11) cited, here, from these examples, all of them represent a female figure wringing out her hair, very much in the fashion of the figure as it occurs in Burmese Art. In the earlier Buddhist representation on the Gupta Images in the Sarnāth Museum, the goddess is not represented in the act of wringing out her hair Otherwise, it would have been easier to claim that the Brahmanical sculptors of the Cola and Vijayanagara temples, cited above, must have derived the iconology of the Earth Goddess, depicted by them, from Buddhist models None of the Siamese and Buddhist examples appears to be as early as the 10th or 11th century, and, possibly, could not have provided precedents for the Brahmanical reliefs referred to above The Earth Goddess has an independent tradition in Hindu Brahmanical pantheon Bhūmi Devî or Bhauma Devî, the Earth-Spirit of Vedic times, receives offerings according to the prescriptions of the Gṛhya Sūtras[6] In early Vedic conception the

6 *Gobhila Grhya Sūtra* iii, 7 3, *Āśvyalāyana Grhya Sūtra*, ii, 1 15, *Śānkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, iv 15, *Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra*, ii 14, 9, *Āpastamba Grhya Sūtra*, xviii, 5, xix, 22.

goddess Pṛthivî is closely associated with Dyaus (the Heaven spirit) and is invoked jointly with Dyaus. In the *Ṛgveda* (V. 84) she has but one short hymn of her own, while a long and interesting hymn is ascribed to her in the *Atharvaveda* (xii 1). "She is great, shining and firm, and quickens the earth, by *scattering rain from a cloud*", in which act she appears to borrow an attribute of Dyaus himself. As a matter of fact, Parjanya (son of Dyaus) the Spirit of the rain-cloud quickens the earth with rain, and the Pṛthvî Devî as the wife of Parjanya absorbs all the showers of rain that descend on her. From the Vedic point of view, it may be suggested that the Earth Goddess will carry in her tresses all the water that descend from the Rain-clouds, and she could easily wring out any amount of water from her flowing tresses In a physical sense, any amount of water could be dug out of the earth (the tresses of the goddess), and, the Earth is the perennial source of water for wells, tanks, or reservoirs.

The imagery of the Earth and her tresses of hair saturated with water can thus be independently derived from the Vedic sources without reference to the Buddhistic tradition—which itself may have borrowed the imagery from the original Vedic source

In later Puranic conception Bhūmā Devî (the Vedic Earth-spirit) is one of the consorts of Viṣṇu. And in South Indian metal images, Visnu is frequently represented as standing in the centre with Lakṣmī Devî on one side, and Bhūmā Devî, on the other Krishna Sastri (*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, 1916, Madras, Fig 33, p. 53) cites the drawing of Vaikuṇṭha-nārāyana, with a female figure depicted on the serpent couch, which may represent a donor, but which one is tempted to identify as Bhūmā Devî (Pṛthvî Devi) as it is represented very much in the same manner as the effigy of the Earth Goddess on the pedestal of some of the Gupta Buddhas at Sarnāth cited above

But could we trace the iconography of the Buddhist formulation of the Earth-Goddess to Vedic sources? As Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out the nearest and probably the direct equivalent is Vasu-patnī (*ṚV* I, 164, 27.) The *Ṛgveda* offers a few hymns to the Earth, but as yet offers no definite material for visual conception. The *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* (Book XII) devotes a string of 63 hymns, addressed to the Earth and describes her many virtues and characteristics. Four of these hymns are relevant for our purpose—as they emphasize on the Goddess raining down her bounties, and 'sprinkling us with her splendour.' Some of these hymns use the figures



Fig 9
Gopuram Acyutarāya Temple
Hampi



Fig 10
Kalyana mandapa
Vitthala-Swāmin Temple
Hampi



Fig 11
Gopuram Hazra Rāma Temple
Hampi

of speech of raining down milk or streams of prosperity One hymn (XII 52) describes the broad Earth as wrapped and covered with rain — suggesting perhaps the imagery of the Goddess having her tresses soaked with water The relevant hymns are cited below in Whitney s translation (Harvard Oriental Series vol II 1905 pp 662 668 670 671)

7 She the earth (*Bhumi prthvi*) whom the Angels sleepless defend all the time without failure—let her yield (*duh*) to us honey what is dear then let her sprinkle us with splendour

9 On whom the circulating waters flow the same night and day without failure—let that earth (*bhumi*) of many streams (*dhara*) yield us milk then let her sprinkle (us) with splendour

10 * * * Let that earth (*bhumi*) to us a mother to a son pour out (*vi srij*) milk (to me)

42 * * * To the Earth whose spouse is Parjanya fattened (oiled) by the rain be homage

45 Let the Earth * * * yield me a thousand streams of property like a steady un resisting milch cow

36 * * * let thine arranged seasons years, let day and night, O Earth yield milk to us

4 Ye who bear the streams (*srotasya*) IV 26 4

Though the Vedic texts do not provide directly ready made materials for an iconic conception—for the Earth Goddess in the Buddhist formulation—in the image of a woman wringing out water from her hair — here are enough seed deals in the figures of speech used in the texts quoted above which may have offered materials for the later iconography

O C GANGOLY

Kalaikuri Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120 (=A.D. 439)

As early as the year 1935, Mr. Rajanimohan Sanyal of Naogong in the Rajshahi Dist purchased an inscribed copper-plate from a Muhammadan householder originally belonging to the village of Kalaikuri in the Bogra Dist. The village lies about 8 miles from the Naogong town. The plate was immediately sent by the purchaser for decipherment and publication to the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi. Unfortunately, however, the authorities of the Society have so far failed to secure the help of an epigraphist for editing and publishing the record It was in last March that a messenger of Mr Sanyal saw me with two sets of estampages of the Kalaikuri inscription and requested me on behalf of the owner to decipher and publish the text at my earliest convenience I have to thank Mr Sanyal for giving me an opportunity of editing this important record

The Kalaikuri copper-plate is a single plate about 9½" × 5½" in size It is inscribed on both sides There are 34 lines of writing of which 16 lines are inscribed on the obverse and 18 on the reverse The lines in the central part of the plate facing the projection on the left which contained the seal now lost have about 35 *aksaras* each but those above and below contain about 42 *aksaras* each The projection for the seal, as suggested by traces on the estampages, seems to be about 3" in diameter. It is reported that the copper plate was preserved for a long time as heir-loom in a Muhammadan family of Kalaikuri But it is not impossible to suspect that it is the lost copper-plate originally discovered in connection with the excavation of a tank at Baigram[1] One of the daylabourers of the Kalaikuri region engaged at Baigram may have brought it to his native village and this may have ultimately led to the discovery of the plate from Kalaikuri.

The DATE of the Kalaikuri inscription is the first (?) day of Vaiśākha of the year 120 apparently belonging to the Gupta era and corresponding to A.D. 439. The record does not mention the name of the king ruling about the time of its issue But it will be seen that the date falls within the reign-period of the Gupta emperor Kumāra Gupta I (414-55 A D)

1 *EI*, XXI, p. 78.

In point of PALÆOGRAPHY, the inscription resembles other epigraphs of the fifth and sixth centuries belonging to the Bogra-Rajshahi-Dinajpur region, such as the Baigram,[2] Paharpur[3] and Dāmodarpur[4] inscriptions, as also the Nandapur inscription.[5] The *akṣaras* are engraved by bold strokes and are clear and fine. There are some sections, especially in the right hand side of the plate, in which the letters are more or less indistinct owing to corrosion. Of initial vowels, *a, ā, i, ī, u* and *e* occur in the record. The consonant *t*, without vowel, in the word *ṣat* (l. 24, cf. *t* in *vaset*) is the usual *ta* joined with the preceding *ṣa* by a slightly slanting stroke. Medial *ā* is attached to the right lower part of such consonants as *kh, g, th, ś*, etc. The *akṣara mo* resembles *na*, and it may be pointed out that this form of *mo* has often been wrongly read as *ṇa* by scholars (cf. e.g., l. 11 of the Damodarpur inscription of G.E. 124).[5a] Of numerical figures we have 1, 2, 5 (engraved on an erasure), 20 and 100 in the present record.

The LANGUAGE of the Kalaikuri epigraph is Sanskrit throughout, and, with the exception of five imprecatory verses about the end, it is written in prose. In respect of STYLE and ORTHOGRAPHY also, this inscription resembles other North Bengal epigraphs of the time. The language is in many passages, not in accordance with Sanskrit grammar. *Sandhi*, which is optional in Sanskrit prose, is often avoided and its rules are sometimes violated. In '*dibbyo astā*°' (l. 19), the *avagraha* is not used and the *a* is retained, even though the preceding *visarga* is changed to *o*. The word *kulyavāpa* is used both in the masculine (e.g., in l. 21) and in the neuter (e.g., in l. 27). *B* is used in some cases instead of *v*, e.g., in *bo* (l. 2), *kulyabāpa* (*pass.*). Final *m* sometimes remains unchanged before *v* (cf. ll. 26, 30, etc.), but it is changed to *anusvāra* before a vowel in l. 15. *Anusvāra*, followed by *h*, is substituted by *ṅ* (cf. ll. 4, 5, 10, 20). This sort of Prakritism is sometimes noticed also in some of the contemporary records. In the Dāmodarpur inscriptions, e.g., we may notice among other cases the name Cirātadatta = Sanskrit Kirātadatta.[6] Consonants with *r* are often doubled.

2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 342 ff.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 346 ff.
4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 283 ff., 324 ff., 328 ff.
5. *EI*, XXIII, p. 54.

5a. This is due mainly to the absence of the *serif* in the consonant. cf. also *me*. This feature is noticed in many cases in connection with some other consonants also.

6. See Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* II, 33 in Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 20. *Kirāta* in the name seems to indicate the Kirātamūrti of Śiva and to suggest that the Kirātārjuna episode was popular in Bengal as early as the fifth century A.D.

The inscription records the notification issued from a place called PŪRNAKAUŚIKĀ (or, °kośikā) belonging to the ŚṚṄGAVERA *Vīthī*, by the *Āyuktaka* ACYUTADĀSA and the *Adhikarana* of the *Vīthī* to the inhabitants of HASTIŚĪRSAVIBHĪTAKĪ, GULMAGANDHIKĀ (once called Gulmā° in l 22), DHĀNYAPĀTALIKA (called °likagrāma in l. 21) and SAMGOHĀLI (possibly called °hālikagrāma in l 20) regarding the grant of nine *Kulyavāpas* of land in the above localities to three learned Brāhmanas It is stated that *Kulika* Bhīma and several other persons of the above *Vīthī* described as *Kāyastha* and *Pustapāla* requested the *Āyuktaka* and a number of other persons, called *Vīthīmahattara* and *Kutumbin*, to allow them to purchase the above area of land at two *Dīnāras* per *Kulyavāpa* in accordance with the prevalent custom of the sale of *apratikara* fallow land for the sake of *Aksayanīvī* to be enjoyed for ever The intention was to offer the land as an *Aksayanīvī* to three Brāhmanas of PUNDRAVARDHANA named DEVABHATTA, AMARADATTA and MAHĀSENADATTA, who were well-versed in the four Vedas and belonged to the Vājasaneya-carana so that they might perform their *Pañca-mahāyajña* uninterruptedly. After having ascertained through the *Pustapālas* whether land could be sold to them at the above rate and after having received eighteen *Dīnāras* as price of the nine *Kulyavāpas* of land, the authorities granted the petition and the land was sold Of the nine *Kulyavāpas* of land sold, eight *Kulyavāpas* were situated in Hastiśīrsavibhītakī, in Dhānyapātalikā and in Samgohālikagrāma The remaining one *Kulyavāpa* lay in the north-western quarter of Dhānyapātalikagrāma and was bounded by the river Vātā and by the borders of Gulmagandhikāgrāma It is further specified that, of the eight *Kulyavāpas* of land indicated above two *Dronavāpas* (= ¼ *Kulyavapa*) were situated in the western part of Gulmagandhikā to the east of Ādyapatha, and the remaining seven *Kulyavāpas* and six *Dronavāpas* (= ¾ *Kulyavapa*) lay in Tāpasapottaka and Dayitāpottaka the *prāveśya* whereof belonged to Hastiśīrsa and in Citravātangara whose *prāveśya* belonged to Vibhītaka Apparently, Hastiśīrsavibhītakī, which included several localities, owed its name to the two persons Hastiśīrsa[7] and Vibhītaka Samgohāli, possibly also called °hālikagrāma

7 Similar names of localities are even now known in Bengal. The Paharpur inscription has Nāgirattamandala possibly named after Mūlanāgiratta If the name Hastiśīrsa implies the elephant-headed god Ganeśa, as it seems to do, it is to be suggested that this god was popular in Bengal in the fifth century A D The elephant-headed deity may have originally been a non-Aryan god Scholars like Hopkins

and used in the plural, may have been a bigger geographical unit to which several villages were attached. The *Āyuktaka* and the *Adhikarana* informed the villagers regarding the grant and entreated present and future administrators of the locality, such as the *Visaya-pati, Āyuktaka, Kutumbin* (as *Grāmamahattara?*) and *Adhikaranika* to protect the grant

Short explanatory notes on the technical terms used in the record may be attempted here for the convenience of ordinary readers, although we have already interpreted them elsewhere. In the Gupta period, the present Bogra-Rajshahi-Dinajpur region formed parts of the territory called Pundravardhana which was a *bhukti* or province of the Gupta empire The capital of the province was at the city of Pundravardhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* was governed by officers like *uparika* or *uparikamahārāja*, i e Viceroy It was divided into *visayas* or districts The Kotivarsa *visaya* of the Pundravardhana *bhukti* included the Damodarpur region and possibly had its headquarters at the city of Kotivarsa identified with modern Bangarh The price of a *Kulyavāpa* of fallow land to be sold for *Aksayanīvī* purposes was three *Dīnāras* in the Kotivarṣa *Visaya* The Baigram region where a *Kulyavāpa* was sold at two *Dīnāras*` possibly formed part of a different *visaya* whose headquarters were at the city of Pañcanagarī (probably the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and modern Pāñcbibi in the Bogra Dist) which may have also been the name of the *visaya* The *Visayapati* (head of the district) was often of the *Kumārāmatya* (executive officer of the status of a *Kumāra*" or prince of the blood royal) or *Āyuktaka* (executive officer) class The *viṣaya* had usually subdivisions called *Vīthī* ruled by officers like the *Āyuktaka* [9a] The

assign the introduction of the elephant-headed Ganeśa about the time of the latest sections of the *Mahābhārata*, that is to say, about the 3rd or 4th century A D The name *Ganeśa* seems to have originally indicated Śiva or Visnu, cf representation on Huviska's coins (*Select Inscriptions*, p 156 n)

8 *Select Inscriptions*, pp 325, 342 ff

9 The Kumāras were usually appointed rulers of territorial units

9a References to the Vīthī are also found in records other than the Kalaikuri and Paharpur inscriptions The Nalanda grant of Devapāla (*E.I*, XVII, p 318 ff) mentions the village Pālāmaka attached to the Kumudasūtra *Vīthī* in the Gayā *Visaya* The Naihāti grant of Ballālasena (*Ins Beng*, III, p 71) refers to the Svalpadaksina *Vīthī* in the Uttara Rādhā *Mandala* (district or subdivision, or part of a subdivision, cf Paharpur inscription) of the Vardhamāna *bhukti* The Nandapur inscription (*EI*, XXIII, p 54) mentions the Nandapur *Vīthī* which has been identi-

Paharpur inscription recording the order of the *Āyuktakas* from the city of Puṇḍravardhana regarding the sale of land at two *Dīnāras* per *Kulyavāpa* in the Dakṣiṇāmśaka *Vīthī* in the Paharpur region possibly suggests that another *viṣaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* had its headquarters at Puṇḍravardhana.[10] The word *adhikaraṇa* is used to denote administration and also the board of administration, i.e., the members of the board of administration collectively. We have reference to *Viṣayādhikaraṇa* (District Board), *Vīthyadhikaraṇa* (Subdivisional Board), *Grāmāṣṭakulādhikaraṇa* (Village Board representing 8 or more families), *Adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa* (City Board or Board of the Chief City), etc. The word *adhikaraṇika* indicates the member of a board of administration. The *Vīthī-mahattaras* were the Elders of the subdivision. But we do not know whether the *Mahattaras* and *Adhikaraṇikas* of the district, subdivision or village were elected or appointed. The agriculturist householders including Brāhmaṇas are called *Kuṭumbin* (cf. the expression *svakarṣaṇāvirodhisthāne*). *Pustapāla* was the keeper of the records of administration and accounts. *Kāyastha* is a scribe and *kulika* an artisan. It is interesting to note that the artisan is possibly distinguished from the ordinary agriculturist householder. People sometimes purchased state land to offer it to gods or Brāhmaṇas as an *Akṣayanīvī* or perpetual

fied with Nandapur near Surajgaṛhā in the Monghyr Dist. The Ghurāhati grant of Samācāradeva (*EI*, XVIII, p. 76) refers to Vāṛakamaṇḍala (under the rule of a *Viṣayapati*) belonging to Suvarṇa *Vīthi* (under the rule of an *Antaraṅga-uparika*) with head quarters at Navyāvakāśikā, possibly mod. Kaśiāni in Faridpur Dist. Vāraka was originally the name of a *Maṇḍala*, but afterwards Vārakamaṇḍala became the name of a *Viṣaya* called Vārakamaṇḍala *Viṣaya* (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 350, n. 3; *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 42). Suvarṇavīthi seems likewise to have originally been the name of a *Vīthi* but in the record in question it appears to have indicated a province of the kingdom of Samācāradeva.

10 The Nandapur (near Surajgarhā in Monghyr Dist.) inscription referring to the sale of land at two Dīnāras per *Kulyavapa* at a village called Jongayikā is supposed to refer to the Baigrām or the Pāhārpur-Mahāsthān region. Mr. S. K. Saraswati (*V R S.* Mon., VI, p. 7) points out the remarkable position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛddhi who was possibly a *Viṣayapati* directly appointed by the Gupta emperor unlike the officers in charge of the Koṭivarṣa viṣaya who were appointed by the governor of the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. It may also be conjectured that the position was due to Kulavṛddhi having been the officer in charge of the *viṣaya* round the capital city. In that case both the Baigram and Paharpur regions formed parts of this Viṣaya. [Since the above was written, it has occurred to me that different price rates were prevalent in the same *viṣaya* and that the *Pustapālas* had to determine whether land was available at the rate quoted by the applicants.]

endowment to be enjoyed for ever. The *Pañcamahāyajñas* were the five sacred duties of a Brāhmana householder They are enumerated as *adhyāpana, tarpana, homa, bali* and *atithipūjana*, but sometimes as *bali, caru, vaiśyadeva, agnihotra* and *atithi*. The word *apratikara* is usually taken by scholars to mean land that yields no revenue to the state, but the true meaning seems to be the land for which no compensation was due to the temporary owner.[11] *Prāveśya*, derived from *praveśa* i.e. income or revenue, seems to indicate possession.[12] *Dīnāra* is the Gupta gold coin which was equal to 16 *rūpakas*, i.e., the Gupta silver coins As I have shown elsewhere,[13] the Gupta *Kulyavāpa* was either about 38 *bighās* or about 125 *bighās* of land The Gupta *Dronavāpa* which was ⅛ of a *Kulyavāpa* was either about 5 *bighās* or about 16 *bighās* of land It has also been shown that probably the bigger areas are actually indicated

The names of the Brāhmana recipients of the Kalaikuri grant end in *bhatta* and *datta* of which the latter is now a non-Brahmanic cognomen in Bengal Noticing Brahmanic names with a large number of modern Bengali Kāyastha cognomens in several early epigraphs discovered in the Bengali speaking area, it has been suggested by some scholars that there is a considerable Brāhmana element in the present day Kāyastha community of Bengal The theory is very probable. It is well known that the Kāyastha (scribe) and Vaidya (physician) are professional castes, that is to say, that these castes have grown out respectively of the clerical and physician classes. The professions were not restricted and could be followed by people of different Varnas[13a] including the Brāhmanas It is therefore very

11 Note that the word *pratikara* has been used in the *Rājataranginī* in the sense of allowance paid by the state to dispossessed owners of temple lands (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System* p 49), though the author renders *apratikara* by "without the right of alienation", *ibid*, p 200, n 1

12 Cf जम्बुदेवप्रावेश्यपृष्ठिमपोत्तक-गोषाटपुञ्जक, मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य नित्वगोहाली (*Sel Ins*, p 346 ff), एतद्विहारप्रावेश्यशून्यप्रतिकरहज्जिकखिलभूमि (*ibid*, p 335), etc

13 *Select Inscriptions*, p 501.

13a It must be noted that the Śūdras were no longer the despised class In the 7th century, Yuan Chwang (Watters, I, 168) refers to the Śūdras as an agriculturist class In the 11th century, Al-Birūni (Sachau, I, p 101) found no great difference between the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras According to him, members of the four *Varnas* lived "together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings" The low-caste peoples were called *antyaja* who rendered various kinds of services and whose position was much lower than that of the

probable that a number of Brāhmaṇa families (or families claiming to be called Brāhmaṇa) were mixed up with members of other *Varnas* in forming the present Kāyastha and Vaidya communities of Bengal. The officer called Kāyastha (scribe) seems to have been instituted about the beginning of the Gupta period The Kalaikuri inscription seems to distinguish the Kāyastha (scribe or a member of the clerical class) together with the *Kulika* and *Pustapāla,* from the *Kuṭumbin* or agriculturist householder But the most important fact usually ignored is that in the early age inter-marriage (though theoretically banned) among the members of the different *Varnas* was not unknown and commensality (not very strictly prohibited by the early law-givers) was not unpopular, and change of the traditional profession of a particular *Varna* was not uncommon. There is literary and epigraphic evidence to prove the facts The *Caturvarna* division is moreover a broad conventional and theoretical classification which was never strictly true for the Indian society in any period of history There were always different classes or communities, but communal rigidity of the later age was not in evidence in the early period The references such as that to the Vālabha-Kāyasthavamśa in the Sanjan grant of 871 A D [14] and to the Śrīvāstavya-kulodbhūta-Kāyastha in the records of the Gāhaḍavālas,[15] certain restrictions on commensality among members of the different Varnas as noticed by Al-Bīrūnī in the 11th cent A D and similar other evidences appear to suggest that the Kāyasthas lost their original official character and became a social class or community in the early medieval period But that Bengal's attitude towards the purity of blood of the communal organisations was not very strict is probably illustrated by such interesting institutions as that of the *Bhaṛār Meye* It is well-known that as late as the 19th century members of the different communities of Bengali Hindus including the Brāhmanas were allowed to marry the *Bharār Meye,* i e, girls of unknown parentage and caste (some of them even belonging to Muslim families) brought from some distant locality for sale to willing bridegrooms It may also be pointed out that families belonging originally to the agriculturist communities are often being mixed up with the Kāyasthas of Bengal even today

Śūdras The Śūdras appear to have attained this higher social position long befor the time of Al-Bīrūnī

14 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 251

15 *E g*, the Kamauli grant of Govindacandra, A D 1125, *EI*, IV, pp 100-01

Sometimes it is asked, whether in the early period cognomens were already formed, that is to say, whether a particular name-ending was used by different members of the family It is well-known that a large number of the cognomens now prevalent among the upper caste Hindus of Bengal is derived from the name-endings of the progenitors of the particular families stereotyped at a certain date prior to the late medieval period This process of a name-ending becoming a cognomen began to operate in the early centuries of the Christian era The first known king of the Gupta dynasty was Gupta whose son was Ghatotkaca, but when the latter's son Candragupta I founded an empire, his descendants always stuck to the name-ending *gupta* and soon the family became known as the Gupta dynasty It must however be remembered that the process was not complete till much later times In the early part of the eighth century there was a person named Dayitavisnu whose son was Vapyata, but when the latter's son Gopāla founded an empire his descendants continued the use of the name-ending *pāla* and soon the family was known as the Pāla dynasty The question is therefore whether at least some of the Brāhmanic name endings found in the early inscriptions of the Bengali speaking area are to be taken as cognomens and not merely as name-endings, that is to say, whether the same name-ending was continued in a family at least in a number of cases I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative In the Damodarpur inscriptions, the name-endings of officers are often the same as that of their successors who usually belonged to the same families.[16] It should also be noticed that in the present record more than one name having the same ending are very often placed one after another, and it is pertinent to suggest that these belonged to the same families.[17] Moreover there are only a few names which appear without any cognomen-like ending

The formation of the name *Kaivarttaśarman* is interesting as the Kaivarttas were an influential community in North Bengal and they are known to have snatched away Varendra from the Pāla emperors in the 11th century A D But the most influential classes in the population of North Bengal during the Gupta period appear to have been the *Śresthins* (bankers),

16 *Select Inscriptions* p 328, n 3 Cf *anvayaprāpta-sācivya*, *id*, p 272

17 This characteristic is remarkable in the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*, pp 33-41)

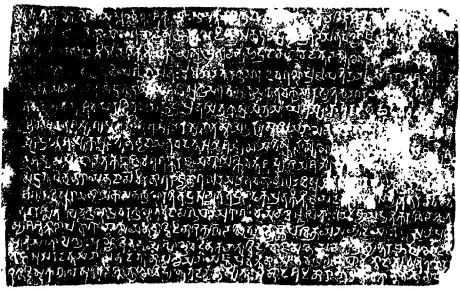
the *Sārthavāhas* (traders), the *Kulikas* (artisans) and the *Kāyasthas* (scribes). The headmen of these classes often constituted the administrative board. The classification of the population based on profession as suggested by epigraphic evidence reminds one of a similar classification known to Megasthenes and is possibly another argument to indicate the conventional and theoretical character of the traditional division of the Indian people into four *Varṇas*.

The Kalaikuri inscription refers to a number of geographical units The *Vīthī* or subdivision called Śṛṅgavera may have formed parts of the *Viṣaya* whose headquarters appear to be either at Pañcanagarī or at Puṇḍravardhana The locality PŪRNAKAUŚIKĀ situated in the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī* may have been the official headquarters of the *Āyuktaka* or the subdivisional officer. The record also refers to the villages and village-groups HASTIŚĪRṢAVIBHĪTAKĪ, GULMAGANDHIKĀ, DHĀNYAPĀṬALIKĀ and SAṀGOHĀLI The localities TĀPASAPOṬṬAKA, DAYITĀPOṬṬAKA (cf place-names like Pṛṣṭhimapoṭṭaka)[18] and CITRAVĀṬANGARA appear to have been included in Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī Ādyapatha, situated in Gulmagandhikā, may have been the name of a locality or may have indicated the main road The river VĀṬĀ flowed through the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī* The record also mentions the city of PUṆḌRAVARDHANA the capital of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* which, as already noticed, has been identified with the present Mahāsthan in the Bogra District The Vāṭānadī of the inscription may be the present Bārānai flowing west to east through the southern part of the Rājshāhi Dist The name of the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī* seems to be preserved in that of the modern Siṅgrā Police Station in the Nator Subdivision of the same district, situated about 10 miles to the north-east of the junction of the Bārānai and the Atrai It may be pointed out in this connection that Dhanāidaha, the findspot of an inscription of Kumāra Gupta, is about 20 miles due south of Siṅgrā. I have not been able to identify the other localities mentioned in the Kalaikuri inscription They may be searched about the southern bank of the Bārānai.

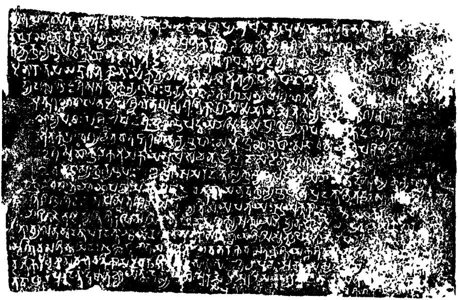
18 *Sel Ins* p 346 *Pottaka* may be connected with the Bengali word *potā* (Sans *potaka*), the site or foundation of a house Cf modern place-names like Chingripotā (near Calcutta)

Kalaikuri Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120

First Side



Second Side



Text[1]

First Side

1. स्वस्ति (॥*) शृङ्गवेरवैथेय-पूर्ण्ण[कौ]शिकायाः[1a] आयुक्त[काच्युतदासोधिक]रणाश्च हस्ति-शीर्ष[विभीतक्यां गुल्मगन्धि]-

2. [कायां] धान्यपाटलिकायां संगोहालिषु ब्राह्मणादीन्ग्रामकुटुम्बि[नः] [कुश]लमनु-वर्ण्य बोधयन्ति[1b] (॥*) विदितम्बो[2]

3 भविष्यति यथा इहवीथी-कुलिकभीम-कायस्थप्रभुचन्द्ररुद्रदासदेवदत्तलक्ष्मणकxx [विनयद?]-त्तकृष्ण-

4 दास-पुस्तपालसिङ्हनन्दि[3]यशोदामभिः वीथीमहत्तरकुमारदेवगण्डप्रजापतिउमय[शो]-[4] रामशर्म्मज्येष्ठ-

5 दामस्वामिचन्द्रहरिसिङ्ह[4a] -कुटुम्बियशोविष्णुकुमारविष्णुकुमारभवकुमारभूतिकुमार-य[श.?]xस्तवै(खि?)लिनक(?)-

6 शिवकुण्डवसुशिवापरशिवदामरुद्रप्रभमित्रकृष्णमित्रमघशर्म्म[5]ईश्वरचन्द्ररुद्रभवxxxx-

7 श्रीनाथहरिशर्म्मगुप्तशर्म्मसुशर्म्महरि[6]अलातस्वामिब्रह्मस्वामिमहासेनभट्टस्वाम्य (?)xxx-रू(?)पश-

8 र्म्मरुद्रशर्म्मकृष्णदत्तनन्ददामभवदत्त[7] अहिशर्म्मसोमविष्णुलक्ष्मणशर्म्मकीर्त्तिविष्णुक्‸म-शर्म्मशु-

9 क्रशर्म्मसर्प्पपालितकक्कुटिविश्वशङ्करजयस्वामिकैवर्त्तशर्म्महिमशर्म्मपुरन्दरजयविष्णुxxxx-

10 सिङ्हत्त[8]बोन्दनारायनदास[9] वीरनागराज्यनागगुहमहिभवनाथगुहविष्णुशर्व्वविष्णुविxxx कुलदास x x-

11 श्रीगुहविष्णुरामस्वामिकामनकुण्डरतिभद्र[10]अच्युतभद्रलीढकप्रभकीर्त्तिजयदत्तकालक(?)[11] अच्युतनरदेवभव-

12 भवरक्षितपिच्चकुण्डप्रवरकुण्डशर्व्वदासगोपाल-पुरोगाः वयं च विज्ञापिताः (।*) इह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकरखिलक्षेत्र-

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1 From estampages. See also Plates in *Bangaśri* (Beng), Baiśākh, 1350 B.S.

1a The reading may be ०कौशिका०

1b Read बोधयति

2 Read विदितं वो भवतु

3 Read ०सिंह

4 Read ०पत्युम०

4a Read सिंह

5 Read ०शर्म्मेश्वर०

6 Read हर्य्यलात०

7 Read ०दत्ताहि०

8 Read सिंहदत्त

9 Read नारायण०

10 Read ०भद्राच्युत०

11 Read कालकाच्युत

13. स्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगायाक्षयनीव्या द्विदीनारिक्यखिलक्षेत्रकुल्यबाप[12]विक्रयमर्य्यादया इच्छेमहि[13] प्रति

14 प्रति मातापित्त्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनक-चातुर्व्विद्य-वाजिसनेय[14]चरणाभ्यन्तर-ब्राह्मण-देव-

15 भट्ट[15]अमरदत्तमहासेनदत्तानां पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रवर्त्तनाय नवकुल्यबापान्क्रीत्वा[16] दातुं[17] एभिरेवोप-[18]

16 रिनिर्दिष्टकग्रामेषु खिलक्षेत्राणि विद्यन्ते तदर्हथास्मत्त· अष्टादशदीनारान्गृहीत्वा एतान्नवकुल्यबा[पा*]-[19]

Second Side

17 न्यनु[पा]दयितुं (।*) यतः एषां कुलिकभीमादीनां विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपालसिङ्ह-[19a] नन्दियशोदा[म्रोश्च अ?]-

18 वधारणयावधृत्वा[20]स्त्ययमिहवीथ्यामप्रतिकरखिलक्षेत्रस्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगायाक्षयनीव्या द्विदीना-

19 रिक्यकुल्यबाप[21]विक्र्‌योनुवृत्तस्तद्दीयता नास्ति विरोधः कश्चिदित्यवस्थाप्य कुलिक-भीमादि[भ्यो[22] अष्टादश]-

20 दीनारानुपसङ्हरितकानायीकृत्य[23] हस्तिशीर्षविभीनक्या धान्यपाटलिका[या] [संगो-हालिक?]ग्रामेषु × × × ×-

21. थां[24] दक्षिणोद्देशेषु अष्टौ कुल्यबापा·[25] धान्यपाटलिकग्रामस्य पश्चिमोत्तरोद्देशे [सद्यःखात?]परिखा-वेष्टित-[26]

22 मुत्तरेण वाटानदी पश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिकाग्रामसोमानमिति[27] कुल्यबाप[27a] [ए]को गुल्मागन्धिकायां पूर्व्वे-

12 Read ०वाप

13 Read इच्छामः

14 Read चातुर्वेद्य-वाज

15 Read ०भट्टामर०

16 Read ०वापा०

17 Read दातुम्

18 Read एष्वेवोपरि०

19 Read ०वापाननु०. Better ०वापान्प्रति-पादयितुमिति।

19a Read सिंह०

20 Read ०वधृत्यास्त्य०

21 Read ०वाप०

22 Read ०दिभ्योष्टादश or ०दिभ्यः अष्टादश

23 Read ०नुपसंहृत०

24 The reading intended may be ०षु अमुकग्रामाद्यां (for अमुकग्रामादिषु). We cannot read वाटानद्या

25 Read कुल्यवापाः

26 Read ०वेष्टित उत्तरेण

27 Read सोमानश्चेति

27a Read ०वाप

23 णाथपथः पश्चिमप्रदेशे द्रोणबापद्वयं[28] हस्तिशीर्षप्रावेश्य ताप[सपोत्तके] दयितापोत्तके च वि-

24 भीतकप्रावेश्यचित्रवातङ्करे [च] कुल्यबापाः[29] सप्त द्रोणबापाः[30] षट् (।*) एषु यथोपरिनिर्द्दिष्टकग्रामप्र-

25 देशेष्वेषां कुलिकभीम-कायस्थप्रभुचन्द्ररुद्रदासादीनां मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये ब्राह्मण-

26 देवभट्टस्य कुल्यबापाः[31] पञ्च [कु ५] अमरदत्तस्य कुल्यबापद्वयं[32]महासेनदत्तस्य कुल्यबा[पद्वयं][32a]

27 कु २[33] (।*) एषां त्रयाणां पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रवर्त्तनाय नवकुल्यबापानि[34] प्रदत्तानि (॥*) तद्युष्माकं × × × × ×-

28 ति (।*) लिख्यते च समुपस्थितकाल[35] [येप्यन्ये] विषयपतय· आयुक्तकाः कुटुम्बि-नोधिकरणिका वा [सम्व्यव]-[36]

29 हारिणो भविष्यन्ति तैरपि [भूमिदानफल]मवेक्ष्य अक्षयनीव्यानुपालनीया[37] (॥*) उक्तञ्च महाभारते भगव-

30 ता व्यासेन (।*)

स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा[38] यो [हरेत वसुन्धरां][39] (।*)
[स] विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पि[तृभिः सह पच्यते] (॥*)
[षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि]

31 स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः [।*]
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता [च] तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*)
कृशाय कृश[वृत्तये?] वृत्तिं × × × × × ×[40] (।*)

32 [भूमिं?] वृत्तिकरोन्दत्वा [सुखी] भवति कामद(:*) (॥*)
[बहुभिर्व्वसुधा] भुक्ता भुज्यते च पुनः पुनः (।*)
यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य]

28 Read ०वाप० 29 Read कुल्यवापाः 30 Read द्रोणवापाः

31 Read ०वापाः. कु ५ is written on the *aksara* अ. It is an abbreviated form of कुल्यवापद्वयं. Possibly the engraver at first left out कु ५ and began अमर०, but immediately noticed the inaccuracy

32 Read ०वाप० 32a Read ०वाप० 33 *I e*, कुल्यवापद्वयं in contraction

34 Read ०वापाः प्रदत्ताः 35 Read ०कालीया येप्यन्ये भाविकाले विषयपतयः. Or, ०काले (=कलियुगे) येप्यन्ये विषयपतयः

36 Read संव्यव० 37 Read ०नीवीरनुपालनीया or ०नीव्यानुपालनीया [दत्तिरियमिति]

38 Read ०दत्ता वा 39 Read वसुन्धराम्

40 The reading may have been something like वृत्तिं यच्छेन्महीपतिः

33. तदा फलं[41] (॥*)

पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष्य[42] युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनु[पालनं][43] (॥*)

34. संव्वत्[44] १०० २० वैशाखदि १(?)

Translation

Lines 1-2 May it be well From Pūrṇnakauśikā in the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī* (Subdivision), the *Āyuktaka* (Subdivisional Officer) Acyutadāsa and the (members of the Vīthī) Board (of administration) thus inform, after having questioned about their welfare, the Brāhmaṇas and other agriculturist householders residing in Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī, in Gulmagandhikā, in Dhānyapāṭalikā, (and) in (the village-group) Saṃgohāli

Lines 2-12. "It will be (hereby) known to you that the *Kulika* (artisan) Bhīma, the *Kāyasthas* (scribes) Prabhucandra, Rudradāsa, Devadatta, Lakṣmana, . , Vinayadatta and Kṛṣṇadāsa, and the *Pustapālas* (keepers of the records of administration and accounts) Siṃhanandin and Yaśodāman of this Vīthī have informed ourselves attended by the *Vīthī-mahattaras* (the Vīthī Elders) Kumāradeva, Gaṇḍa, Prajāpati (or Gaṇḍa-Prajāpati), Umayaśas, Rāmaśarman, Jyeṣṭhadāman, Svāmicandra and Harisiṃha, and by the householders Yaśoviṣṇu, Kumāraviṣṇu, Kumārabhava, Kumārabhūti, Kumārayaśas, sta, Vaiḷinaka (?), Śivakuṇḍa, Vasuśiva, Aparaśiva, Dāmarudra, Prabhamitra, Kṛṣṇamitra, Maghaśarman, Īśvaracandra, Rudrabhava (or, ˚bhūti?),.. , Śrīnātha, Hariśarman, Guptaśarman, Suśarman, Hari, Alātasvāmin, Brahmasvāmin, Mahāsena, Bhaṭṭasvāmin, A , Rūpaśarman, Ruṣṭaśarman, Kṛṣṇadatta, Nandadāman, Bhavadatta, Ahiśarman, Somaviṣṇu, Lakṣmaṇaśarman, Kīrttiviṣṇu, Kramaśarman, Sukkraśarman, Sarppapālita, Kankuti, Viśva, Śankara, Jayasvāmin, Kaivarttaśarman, Himaśarman, Purandara, Jayaviṣṇu, ,Siṃhadatta, Bonda, Nārāyaṇadāsa, Vīranāga, Rājyanāga, Guha, Mahi, Bhavanātha, Guhaviṣṇu, Sarvvaviṣṇu, Vi .., Kuladāsa, śrī, Guhaviṣṇu, Rāmasvāmin, Kāmanakuṇḍa, Ratibhadra,

41 Read फलम्

42 Read ०द्रक्ष. But possibly पूर्व्वदत्ता and यत्नाद्रक्ष्या were intended

43 Read पालनम्

44 Read संवत्. There is an erasure (म्ब ?) between सं and व्व. The reading does not appear to be सम्बत्सरे.

Acyutabhadra, Līḍhaka, Prabhakīrtti, Jayadatta, Kālaka, Acyuta, Naradeva, Bhava, Bhavarakṣita, Piccakunda, Pravarakuṇḍa, Śarvadāsa and Gopāla (as follows):

Lines 12-17 "'With a view to increasing the merits of the parents of each of us (and) in accordance with the custom (*maryadā*) regarding the sale of each *Kulyavāpa* of fallow land at 2 *Dīnāras* (prevalent) with reference to permanent endowments of non-compensatory fallow land to be enjoyed for ever, we are willing, after purchasing 9 *Kulyavāpas* (of land) in this Vīthī, to give them to the Brāhmaṇas Devabhatta, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta who are inhabitants of (the city of Puṇḍravardhana, who belong to the Vājasaneyacaraṇa and who are versed in the four Vedas, so that their five great sacrifices may proceed uninterruptedly In the villages referred to above, there are fallow lands So, may you please grant us the nine *Kulyavāpas* (of land) after having accepted from us eighteen *Dīnaras* (as price of the land)'

Lines 17-27 'After that, having received the statement from the *Kulika* Bhīma and others, having ascertained by the ascertainment of the *Pustapālas* Simhanandin and Yaśodāman (who placed the facts in the following terms) 'The sale of each *Kulyavapa* (of land) at two *Dīnaras* with reference to permanent endowments of non-compensatory fallow land to be enjoyed for ever is prevalent in this *Vīthī* So, may you grant (the land) There is no inconsistency (of the petitioners' prayer with the interest of the state) whatsoever', and having realised from the *Kulika* Bhīma and other persons the eighteen *Dīnāras* which were offered, we have granted nine *Kulyavāpas* (of land)—

Eight *Kulyavāpas* are in Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī, in Dhānyapāṭalikā, in Saṃgohālikagrāma, in , in the southern quarters, one *Kulyavāpa* surrounded by a recently excavated ditch lies in the north-western quarters of Dhānyapāṭalikagrāma, with the Vāṭā river in the north, with the boundaries of Gulmagandhikāgrama in the west (of the eight *Kulyavāpas*, again,) two *Dronavāpas* (= ¼ *Kulyavāpa*) are in Gulmagandhikā, in the western quarter, with Ādyapatha in the east, seven *Kulyavāpas* and six *Dronavāpas* (= ¾ *Kulyavāpa*) in Tāpasapottaka and Dayitāpottaka in the possession of Hastiśīrsa and in Citravātangara in the possession of Vibhītaka

——in the villages indicated above, for the performance of the five great sacrifices (of the Brāhmaṇas), (in the following proportions) · to the

Brāhmaṇa Devabhaṭṭa five *Kulyavāpas*, (in figure) *Ku* 5, to Amaradatta two *Kulyavāpas*, to Mahāsenadatta two *Kulyavāpas*, (in figure) *Ku*. 2.

Lines 27-30 "So, you It is further requested that having noticed the results of making gifts of land, those who belong to the present time as also those *Viṣayapatis* (officers in charge of districts), *Āyuktakas* (officers in charge of subdivisions), agriculturist householders and members of the (Administrative) Board who will administer (in future time) should protect (this grant) according to the (custom relating to) permanent endowments. (To this effect), the following has also been said by the venerable Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*

Lines 30-33 [Imprecatory verses, five in number, left untranslated]

Lines 34 (Executed) in the (Gupta) year 120, on the Vaiśākha day 1 (i e on the first day of the month of Vaiśākha) *

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

* A very short note apparently on the present record written by Mr N B Sanyal, Curator of the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, has been recently published by Dr B C Sen* in *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1942), p xii footnote Mr Sanyal however says, "The inscription is dated in *Samvat* 121 on the 1st day of Vaiśākha It records the purchase of 9 *Kulyavāpas* of land at the rate of 2 *Dīnāras* for each *Kulyavāpa* distributed in the villages of Hastiśirsa, Vibhitaka, Gubhyagandhikā and Dhānyapāṭalikā" It will be seen from the note that Mr Sanyal has failed to decipher many important passages of the record including several geographical names His suggestion regarding the two villages Hastiśirsa and Vibhītaka is not supported by the passage *Hastiśīrsavibhītakyām* of the text So far as my estampages go, the reading Gupta year *121* for *120* and *Gubhyagandhikā* for *Gulmagandhikā* are unwarranted The scratches in which Mr Sanyal finds the figure *1* could have been considered to be the faint traces of a figure if only they were close to the symbol for 20 as those for 100 and 20 actually are

The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*

At the end of this retrospect of the historical period dealt with by the chronicler, we may pause to consider his general attitude towards distinct classes and sections of his countrymen As regards the people in general, Kalhana's views partook of their usual impartial character Repeatedly in his work Kalhana gives instances of touching sympathy of the people with the afflictions in the royal family—witness his pathetic descriptions of the people's lamentations at the final departure of Ananta and Sūryamatī from the capital (VII, 349-50) as well as at the *Satī* of Sūryamatī (VII, 480) and of Uccala's queens (VIII, 369) [This point is ignored by Stein I, *Introduction* p 16] Kalhana also records, but with little sympathy, the people's lamentations for the unworthy pretender Mallārjuna on his entrance to the capital (cf VIII, 2300-2307). In this connection Kalhana expresses by means of two illustrations taken from the *Mahābhārata* the profound truth that the judgment on characters must vary according to changing circumstances To take another instance, the chronicler shows how the people's transference of sympathy from the reigning king to a rival was justified in some cases This applies for instance to the people's preference of the generous Harsa to his mean and parsimonious brother king Utkarsa (VII, 773-74) Similarly justifiable, according to the chronicler's own description (VII, 1198-1200), was the preference shown later to the brothers Uccala and Sussala (whose valour alone saved the Kashmirian army from utter destruction by the Daradas) over the cowardly king Harsa (who had just failed ignominiously in the siege of a fort of Rājapuri) Even after the change of sentiment in favour of Uccala and Sussala the people, soothed by Harsa's proclamation of general amnesty rallied round the king and helped him to repulse the invader (VII, 1332 ff.) On the other hand, the chronicler unhesitatingly condemns the unreasoning fickleness of the people who in Sussala's reign longed for the pretender Bhiksācara (VIII, 796 ff) and after the latter's accession sighed for Sussala's return (VIII, 893 ff) As the author sagely comments (VIII, 896) —'In a moment they show enmity and in a moment again attachment The vulgar people, just like animals, do not require any reason for their actions.'

* Continued from *I H Q*, vol XVIII, p 341

In the course of his narrative Kalhana has occasion several times to mention instances of the abject cowardice of the Kashmirian soldiery. Thus speaking of the desertion of the forces of the Governor Ānanda in the fight with Uccala, Kalhana says that they abandoned their equipment 'as if they had been helpless animals' (VII, 1374). Again, he justly dwells on the baseness of the Kashmirian soldiery who deserted Bhikṣācara to join Sussala after being defeated at 'the wonderful battle' at Parnotsa (cf VIII, 922. 'What excellence was not displayed by those Kashmirians who fought against one master, and by their defeat brought disgrace on the other?') The chronicler's highest scorn is reserved (VIII, 1322 ff) for the cowardly gang of royal relatives and troops who after Sussala's murder basely took to flight, leaving the king's body to be mutilated and carried off by the ruffianly conspirators. As the author ruefully observes, his pen, although hardened by recording names and deeds of numbers of rogues from Harsa's time onwards, is unable to name those 'worse than wicked' persons concerned in this base act. The chronicler contents himself by saying that with one honourable exception whom he duly mentions by name, the whole Rājaputra tribe covered themselves with disgrace. The king's relatives 'with fat bellies' who had received his favours scarcely ventured to look at the corpse. With the exception of two Brahmans and a chief whom Kalhana mentions by name, all the troops fled in ignominious panic.

We have just referred to the severe censure passed by the chronicler on the Rājaputras who shared in the general disgrace of abandoning the body of their murdered king Sussala to the traitors. Another instance of such base desertion is recorded to their discredit in Kalhana's account of the last days of Harsa. 'Even those Rājaputras, Anantapāla and the rest, who claim descent from the thirty-six families and who in their pride would not concede a higher position to the sun himself, they too left him step by step and their horses disappeared in the dense darkness' (VII, 1617-18). In general, however, these foreign mercenaries distinguished themselves as much by their heroism as by their loyalty to their master's service. The anecdote told of the Rājaputra Bijja, an attendant of Prince Kalaśa, at the interview between the angry king Ananta and the Prince (cf Bijja's bold words VII, 324. 'O king, though the foremost of the proud men, do you not know that men of honour should never break the great vow of keeping their self-respect?' *Ibid*, 325 —'How can I as a Rājaputra, when I have taken

my pay and carry arms, abandon my master in these straits while life is in me?') does honour at once to his 'superhuman courage' and his touching devotion. Of the brothers Prajji and Sujji who repeatedly distinguished themselves by their high valour in king Sussala's service, the chronicler writes with enthusiastic admiration (cf. VIII, 1150 'Prajji alone of spotless fame safeguarded in this land the honour of the sword and of learning which the wickedness of the times had shaken'). Immediately after Sussala's murder Sujji joined Jayasimha at the capital after skilfully eluding the enemy and brought victory to the new king's cause. At the battle of the Gambhīra river where Sujji gained a glorious victory over a formidable coalition of Dāmara rebels he showed such conspicuous bravery as to deserve the chronicler's highest praise (cf. VIII, 1498 — 'Praiseworthy was his enterprise that he went forth singly undertaking to fight so great a coalition of brave men'. *Ibid.*, 1503, 'The enemy's troops as soon as they saw him crossing with a few soldiers became agitated like a row of trees shaken by the wind'). This great victory, as Kalhana very properly notes (VIII, 1516), secured Jayasimha in possession of the kingdom. Driven by the king's hostility into exile Sujji sullied his good name by joining the pretender Lothana at Lohara (VIII, 1862). But he showed a chivalrous magnanimity in his treatment of the captive Laksmaka who had been the cause of his ruin (VIII, 1893). Recalled by the king Sujji distinguished himself by receiving the surrender of Lohara. How the king basely turned against his faithful general and caused his treacherous assassination has been narrated in another place.

As regards the class of Damaras or territorial lords, we have already seen how they constituted a constant menace to the peace and tranquility of the kingdom specially from Harsa's time onwards. Kalhana's bitter experience of the turbulence and lawlessness of this class led him (VIII, 7 etc.) to apply to them the characteristic epithet of 'robbers' (*dasyus*). The avarice as well as boorishness of this class is illustrated by Kalhana's picturesque description of their brief spell of power during the misrule of the usurper Bhiksācara (cf. VIII, 855-857 where we are told that the Damaras divided the royal stores with others and that the 'robbers resembling a dense mass of goblins' tasted in the city the pleasures of heaven 'though they were fit only for rustic fare'). At the beginning of the reign of Jayasimha they betrayed their utter lack of patriotism and even of decency (VIII, 1493-94) by offering the throne to Somapāla of Rājapuri who was 'no better than a brute animal'

in the hope of monopolising the power for themselves Afterwards when they proceeded to the capital to offer their submission to the king, they showed their vulgar taste in an extravagant display (cf VIII, 1535). Elsewhere Kalhana, while praising a Dāmara's wife of Kṣatriya family who became a *Satī* out of grief for her mortally wounded husband, refers by way of contrast to the usual customs of Dāmara widows who would yield themselves up to common folk (VIII, 2337-38) On the other hand, Kalhaṇa with his usual impartiality mentions with high praise individual Dāmaras who were more or less exceptions to the general rule (This point is missed by Stein I, p 19, *Ibid*, II, Note G) Such were the Dāmaras of the family of Sūryavarmacandra which, as Kalhana notes in a passage (VIII, 2780) above quoted, was uniformly loyal to the Royal House of Malla Janakacandra, the eldest son of Sūryavarmacandra, alienated by Harṣa's policy of systematic persecution of the Dāmaras, joined in inviting Uccala whom he was chiefly instrumental in raising to the throne after the resulting civil war He was rewarded for his services with high honours But he behaved with such arrogance as to bring about his own fall (VIII, 15 ff) Gargacandra, the younger brother of Janakacandra, became a great favourite of Uccala and helped him to repulse the dangerous invasion of his brother Sussala After Uccala's murder Gargacandra showed conspicuous courage and touching devotion by avenging his master's death on the heads of the conspirators (cf. VIII, 355. 'Of such bravery and skill in a desperate enterprise as this illustrious man displayed, I have not heard anywhere, even in stories,' *Ibid*, 361 —'Garga when he had accomplished his task and appeased his wrath, threw himself down on the throne and lamented long over his lord') Refusing the offer of the throne for which he is praised (VIII, 370) justly by the chronicler, Gargacandra raised to the throne Salhana a half-brother of Uccala, thus becoming a real king-maker Going over to the side of Sussala with whom he formed a matrimonial alliance, Gargacandra took part in raising him to the throne But Sussala's insistence upon the surrender of the young son of Uccala drove Gargacandra into rebellion which ended in his imprisonment and death After Sussala's murder Pañcacandra, Gargacandra's son, immediately joined Jayasimha and helped him to secure the throne for himself (VIII, 1393 ff.) After Pañcacandra's death his younger brother Sasthacandra rendered loyal service to the king by sharing in the siege of Śirahśilā castle and by defeating the pretender Bhoja's allies Other Dāmaras are also mentioned by the chronicler for conspicuous loyalty to the

ruling house. In his account of Sussala's reign Kalhana introduces us (VIII, 1069 and *Ibid*, 1137) to two heroic ladies connected with Gargacandra's family, viz. Sillā the mother of Vijaya (Garga's brother-in-law) and Chuḍḍā (Gargacandra's wife), who led the royal troops and were killed fighting with the rebels Well might the author condemn with unmeasured severity the actors in these grim tragedies, viz the cruel enemy leader (cf VIII, 1138 —'Thus cruelly did this wicked man commit another murder of a woman What difference, however, is there between animals, Mlecchas, robbers and devils?') and the cowardly royal troops (cf *Ibid*, 1139.— 'Those of Lohara who, like cattle had fled and left their mistress, a woman, when she was being killed, O wonder, took up again the sword')

It is no doubt in consonance with the traditional view of Kāyasthas (or petty officials), embodying the bitter experience of past generations, that Kalhana again and again writes with biting satire of the wickedness of this class Thus while describing (VIII, 85 ff) with evident relish the suppression of Kayasthas by Uccala, Kalhana makes the king remember a verse which has been traced with slight differences in the *Manusamhitā* VII, 123 (The verse is as follows 'Officials in truth are eager to kill, desirous of evil, robbers of others' property, rogues and demons, he should protect his subjects from them'). The Kāyasthas, Kalhana goes on, are 'plagues for the people', worse even than the crab and the white ant the ungrateful Kāyastha when in power destroys everything, like a *Vetāla* the Kāyastha slays his benefactor without a scruple (Stein I *Introd* p 19 suggests that Kalhana's opinion of the Kāyasthas was based on personal experience But the fact of Kṣemendra's indulgence in a similar diatribe against the Kāyasthas in his *Narmamālā* above quoted and Kalhana's reference to the *Manusamhitā* verse just mentioned leave no room for doubt about the main source of the chronicler's inspiration).

Kalhana's opinion of the class of merchants is expressed (VIII, 128-134) with his usual biting satire in connection with the anecdote of Uccala's judgment in the difficult law-suit between a depositor and a fraudulent merchant A merchant engaged in an embezzlement suit, says the chronicler, is more to be feared than a tiger, as he shows a face smooth as oil, speaks little and puts on a gentle appearance The courtezan, the Kāyastha, the clerk and the merchant are all deceitful by nature and being trained by teachers are superior to a poisoned arrow. The merchant with his forehead, eyeholes, ears and heart painted with sandal-paste, his mouth

narrow like a needle and his huge belly, destroys life in a moment drawing up blood as well as flesh (In thinking, Bk I, *Introd* p 20, that the above picture of the cheating merchant and his ways is drawn from personal experience, Stein ignores the traditional opinion of this class which, as in the case of the Kāyasthas, must have been based on the experience of generations)

From the long and detailed account of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we can form a clear idea of the religious conditions in the kingdom during the preceding centuries We learn that Buddhism, Śaivaism, Vaisnavism and Śakti worship were equally known to the people From the fact that Kalhana mentions not one single authentic instance of religious persecution during the whole course of the country's history, it can be inferred that the different faiths existed peacefully side by side How close were the bonds drawn between Brahmanism and Buddhism in particular is proved by the fact to which Stein (I *Introd* p 9) draws attention viz that again and again in Kalhana's narrative royal as well as private donors are described as showing equal zeal in founding Brahmanical and Buddhist shrines and monasteries Independent evidence of the high position of the founder of Buddhism in the Brahmanical religious system of Kashmir is furnished by Ksemendra's praise of Buddha as an *Avatāra* of Visnu in his *Daśāvatāracarita* (Canto IX) as well as by the inclusion of Buddha's birthday in the list of festive days in the *Nīlamata*, the canonical authority on the Brahmanical cult in Kashmir (cf Stein, *loc cit*) Kalhana's religious views fully partook of the prevailing tendencies Himself a devout Śaiva, as his introductory verses prefixed to each Book of his Chronicle testify, he was yet catholic enough to indicate in many passages his respect for Buddhism as well as his interest in Buddhist images and shrines His healthy attitude towards religion is well illustrated by the contempt he repeatedly expresses towards false *gurus* as for example in the satirical picture of the evil associates of the youthful Kalaśa quoted below (p 34) From his negative account of the beneficent rule of Yaśaskara we learn that he viewed with dislike married ascetics, Brahman *gurus* drinking spirits and offering fish and cakes in (Tantric) sacrifices while concocting *Paddhatis* in their support, and lastly women assuming the *rôle* of (Tāntrik) *gurus* (See VI, 10-12 and especially VI, 11-12 *n*)

It is characteristic of the privileged position occupied by Brahmans in Kashmir (as in Ancient India generally) that Brahman assemblies from

Agrahāras as well as temple priests are found frequently in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to have influenced the internal administration by means of their solemn fasts The instances recorded by the chronicler prove that this bloodless, but frequently effective, form of passive resistance was resorted to not only as a protest against financial exactions, but also for getting rid of an all-powerful but unpopular minister (VII, 13 ff.), for effecting reconciliation between a king and his father (VII, 400), for drawing the king's attention to the indifference of the ministers during a siege of the capital by a pretender (VIII, 768), for forcing a pretender to make room for the legitimate king (VIII, 901-3) and so forth On one memorable occasion the Brahman assemblies were summoned by a commander-in-chief just after his triumph over a child-king, for the purpose of electing a successor to the throne (V, 457 ff) The assembly justified itself by setting aside the claims of the foolish commander-in-chief and electing the poor but wise Brahman Yaśaskara who became the founder of a new dynasty It is curious to find that Kalhana, notwithstanding his Brahman descent, shows no sympathy for the solemn fasts of the Brahman assemblies and the temple priests, even when their object, according to his own showing, was laudable enough Repeatedly (VI, 339 etc) he shows how the Brahmans allowed themselves to be won over by bribery Mention is also made of their use of fasts for blackmail, e g at the critical time when king Sussala was besieged by the rebels at the capital and was being deserted by his troops (VIII, 811) Elsewhere (VII, 13 ff) Kalhana exposes the malignity of the 'wicked-minded Brahmans' who even after appeasement by the king sought to disgrace his minister by a trick, but were driven in flight to their own houses, according to the chronicler's story, by an evil spirit (Kṛtyā) that they had raised In one place, however, (VIII, 2224 ff) we have an anecdote of a young Brahman as illustrating the irrepressible power of 'the gods of the earth' even in this Kali age When a wicked minister of king Jayasiṃha had made himself obnoxious by increasing the imposts and when the Brahmans of Avantipura had protested in vain by their usual methods of solemn fasts and self-immolations, the Brahman Vijayarāja suddenly attacked and all but killed the unpopular minister inside the palace Boldly avowing the crime he was killed fighting desperately with the royal troops On his arm was found written upon a leaf the famous verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* III, 8) 'From *yuga* to *yuga* I come into existence to protect the righteous, to destroy the evil doers and to restore the sacred law' The desire which

he expressed in his death by this verse, comments the chronicler, sanctified him

Kalhana's style

We have now finished our examination of the main contents of Kalhana's great chronicle In attempting a critical estimate of his worth as a historian, we may begin by observing that he shows himself usually a master of plain simple narrative, although indulging from time to time in the intricacies of style dear to the heart of a *Kavi* The soliloquies, orations and dialogues, which figure so largely in his work, while serving admirably the purpose of diversifying the form of his narrative, give it a touch of great vividness This last applies not merely to the form, but also to the substance, of Kalhana's work Of vivid descriptions of scenes we have brilliant examples in Cakravarman's entrance into the capital after his great victory over the Tantrins (V, 341-47) the majesty of Harsa's appearance (VII, 876-78) as well as the splendour of the ladies of his palace (VII, 928-31) and of his royal court (VII 946-49) Sussala's victorious return to Śrīnagar (VIII, 947-53), the sight of the murdered Sussala's corpse (VIII 1334-1339), and Bhiksācara's last sally against his treacherous assailants (VIII, 1744-50) Kalhana excels above all in his life-like portraits of lowly characters like upstarts, knaves and impostors, which are drawn invariably with a master's hand. Very realistic is his description (VII 38 ff.) of the low-born mean Kāyastha' Bhadreśvara, who beginning life with his hereditary occupation of a gardner, rose to be an office-boy and was then elevated by the all-powerful minister Tunga to the charge of the Grhakrtya office Kalhana hits off the appalling wickedness of his character by saying that resembling an untimely death he 'cut off the sustenance of gods, cows, Brahmans the poor, strangers and royal servants', and that worse than a Kāpālika who lives on corpses he 'did not even allow his own people to live' Very vivid and humorous is Kalhana's description (VII, 111) of Candramukha, the illegitimate son of a clerk, who became the king's favourite and 'beginning with a cowrie accumulated crores' Even after reaching his great position, he used to sell to his own servants the cakes brought to him as presents 'in accordance with the hereditary occupation of his family' A vivid picture of an assorted set of knaves and impostors is drawn by the author in his account (VII, 277 ff.) of the evil associates of the youthful Prince Kalaśa They consisted of firstly a false incestuous teacher, secondly, a false 'cat-

merchant' (so-called from his peculiarity of keeping a black cat) who became a *guru* of dyers and other craftsmen and gave relief to honourable and learned men by putting his evil-smelling hand on their heads, thirdly, a strolling player who was a persistent corrupter of women and kept company with musicians resembling sewers, and fourthly, a silly Brahman village astrologer, *guru* and procurer who was surnamed *mustilostaka* for guessing things hidden in people's fists [That Kalhana's outspoken contempt for upstarts was not always due, as Stein I *Introd* p 19 seems to suggest, to aristocratic hauteur is proved by a number of instances Thus he gives (VI, 296, 322) high character to Bhuyya, the son of a litter-carrier whom Queen Diddā raised to the position of City-Prefect Elsewhere he mentions (VII 208 ff) with high praise Haladhara the son of a humble temple watchman of the Vaiśya caste as well as his nephew Bimba for their loyal services on King Ananta's behalf as well as for their pious acts]

Dramatic power of a high order is exhibited (IV, 640 ff) by the chronicler in the dialogue between a number of aggrieved Brahmans and their oppressive king Jayāpīḍa When the Brahmans' spirited protest against their humiliation was stifled by the angry and mocking comment of the king the twice-born Ittila a treasure of Brahmanical dignity', mustered up courage to give him a fitting reply The king, roused to fury by Ittila's threatening him with the staff of Brahman (*Brahmadanda*), burst out with the impious words 'May that staff of Brahman fall! Why does it tarry even for a single day?' And, surely enough, along with the Brahman's angry retort, a pole from the canopy fell upon the king's limb and caused him a lingering death

Containing all the elements of a drama is Kalhana's vivid and detailed account (VIII, 297 ff) of the assassination of king Uccala The king's fatal refusal to heed the last friendly warning, his unsuspecting walk into the fatal trap of the conspirators, the feint of a kneeling suppliant followed by the first treacherous dagger-thrust, the king's reproachful words to the one honest man in the company and lastly, his heroic though unavailing resistance are portrayed before us with life-like vividness (The reader will notice some striking points of coincidence in the description of the murder of Julius Caesar in Shakespeare's drama) No wonder that the chronicler in his usual moralising vein reads in this awful tragedy the inevitable downfall of earthly greatness A great point is added to the tragic picture by his pathetic account of the king's lonely funeral —'Nobody looked on when he was

slain or when he was burnt Quickly he disappeared from sight as if he had flown away' (VIII 340).

Instinct with high pathos and dramatic effect as well as the sense of inexorable destiny is Kalhana's vivid account (VIII, 1276 ff) of the tragic death of king Sussala. With a persistent delusion which Kalhana finds explicable in a man of his extraordinary vigilance only on the assumption of a perverse destiny (VIII, 1276-78), the king gave his fullest confidence to a low-born wretch who was all the while plotting for his assassination (VIII, 1284) A loyal servant hearing of the conspiracy revealed it to the king who, however, with characteristic fatality expressed his complete disbelief in its existence in the presence of the assembled traitors (VIII, 1290) On the fateful day the king summoned the arch-conspirators to meet him alone in the palace and when a few faithful attendants still lingered in his room, he drove them away with words which proved only too prophetic, 'Let him stop here who is a traitor' (VIII, 1303) With the words 'Fie what treason' crossing his lips, the conspirators killed him before he could offer any resistance As if nothing was wanting to complete the tragedy, the body of the murdered king, basely deserted by the cowardly royal troops was mutilated and carried away by the conspirators who 'made it a spectacle for the villagers like the body of a slain thief At length a common soldier though on the enemy's side, burnt the trunk out of a lingering sense of loyalty, while the head was cremated by the rulers of Rajapuri partly out of fear and partly out of gratitude felt by the brother of 'the wretched Khaśa prince' (VIII, 1457 ff)

Kalhana's mastery of pathos is well illustrated by his short comment (VII, 66-69) on the utter extinction of the illustrious Śāhi dynasty of Udabhāndapura following from the victories of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna Ascribing the event to fate which 'effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach,' Kalhana observes that the royal glory of the Śāhis has rapidly vanished down even to their very name so that one now asks himself whether with its kings, ministers and court the great Śāhi kingdom ever existed? The touching account (VII, 445 ff) of the deaths of King Ananta and Queen Sūryamatī is filled with the quality of high pathos When Ananta was driven to commit suicide by the base ingratitude of his unworthy son and the reproaches of his queen, it could be said of him that he had at last found rest and peace with all (cf. VII, 454 'He bore after death no grudge against anyone, nor did anyone bear a

grudge against him. Death made this king of proud spirit happy and serene.') The Queen, having made all her followers take a solemn oath for the safety of her grandson to whom she bade a tender farewell, followed her husband on a separate litter 'When the people saw these two going forth, the horizon was rent, as it were, by their tumultuous lamentations which mixed with the vibrating sounds of the funeral music' An infinite touch of pathos is lent to the picture of her last moments by the mention of her eager, though vain, solicitude to see her recreant son, her devoutly sipping the water of the sacred Vitastā to ensure final deliverance, her solemn curse against those who 'have caused the fatal enmity between us two and our son, and lastly by her solemn oath testifying to the purity of her moral character When she leapt with a bright smile from the litter into the flaming fire, 'the sky became reddened with sheets of flames, just as if the gods, in order to celebrate her arrival, had covered it with minium' Three male attendants and as many female servants showed their supreme devotion by following their unfortunate mistress to death

Kalhana reaches his height of pathos in his circumstantial narrative (VII, 1386 ff) of the last days of king Harsa, which, we have good reason to believe, is based on first-hand sources The long and astonishing story of this king as Kalhana himself says in this connection, is comparable to that of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* As the king found himself surrounded by his enemies, his resolution, wisdom and judgment deserted him He rejected the wise advice of his ministers to retire to the family stronghold of Lohara and in default to seek his own death for avoiding disgrace at the hands of his enemies While his fortunes were sinking to their lowest ebb he committed the dastardly crime of killing Malla, father of the brothers Uccala and Sussala, who was living the life of an ascetic at the capital Malla's devoted wife followed her husband on the burning pyre uttering a terrible curse against the doomed king (VIII, 1494) At the beginning of the fight with Sussala a brave officer having 'proudly in battle washed off his insult with the streams of blood flowing from the sword-blades', the king was greatly moved at his failure to recognise the true character of that grateful man (VIII, 1535) When Uccala's forces poured into the capital, Harsa's dearly beloved son Bhoja left with a few followers amid the king's tears, while the Śāhi Princesses and other Queens burnt themselves in the palace which was plundered by the enemy's troops and the citizens Deserted by his troops and ministers, the king fled from the capital 'with his property

consisting of a single garment, with his bare life and with the single Prayāga' as his follower' (VIII, 1622). Drenched with rain, he took refuge in the miserable hut of a wretched mendicant where he stood on the muddy bare ground and passed a terrible night (VIII, 1645). As he thought of each of his misfortunes ('My kingdom is lost, my wives are burned, my son has disappeared, I am alone without friends and provisions, rolling about in the courtyard of a beggar (VIII, 1648), he could not find even in stories his peer in misfortune. The cup of his misery was filled when he heard the news of Prince Bhoja's murder. When under pangs of hunger he made up his mind to take food, he found his hut surrounded by the enemy's soldiers to whom he had been betrayed. With his faithful follower he was killed after a brave resistance, with the Lord Śiva's name on his lips. The awful tragedy of the king's end is summed up by the chronicler in words of inexpressible pathos. 'Sovereign as he was, he found a death which was fit for a thief' and again 'No other king has been seen in this epoch as powerful as he was, nor of any other king so shameful a funeral'. But the tragedy was not yet over. Amid dreadful portents duly noted by the pious chronicler (cf. VII, 1722: 'when the head of the king was cut off, the earth together with the oceans shook, and the sky, though cloudless, sent down heavy rain'), the king's head was cut off by impious people who took it just as if it were that of a robber to his opponent. The body of so great a sovereign, laments the chronicler, could not be burnt without Uccala's orders as if it had been that of a robber. Eventually it was burned 'naked like a pauper' by a certain wood-dealer. 'Amid the numerous ladies of his court', concludes the chronicler, 'not one bewailed him, amid so many of his followers not one followed him into death or settled at a sacred place as an ascetic'. (In a later passage VIII, 13 however Kalhana singles out the singer Kanaka who 'gave up his life at Vārānasī in weariness of the world' as 'the only one among Harsa's servants who displayed gratitude'.)

(To be continued)

U. N. GHOSHAL

Shuja-ud-daula as a Diplomat (1754-65)

Born on the 19th January, 1732, Mirza Jalaluddin Haider was the only son of Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh and Allahabad He was appointed to the post of Mir Atish when he was a young man of just over sixteen years, with the title of Shuja-ud-daula Bahadur [1] His father was the Wazir from 1748-53, and on two occasions, during his father's absence from Delhi on campaign, he was appointed Deputy-Wazir, with powers to carry on the duties of the Wazir [2] On his father's death, on the 5th October, 1754, he succeeded to the jagirs of Oudh and Allahabad, although the Emperor recognised his possession of Oudh only, and granted Allahabad to the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk [3]

Shuja-ud-daula Bahadur was fitted, both by temperament and training, to be an excellent diplomat He was a prototype of Metternich and had no moral qualms about crime in politics He had also inherited his father's inordinate ambition He had lived at Delhi from the age of twelve and was, therefore, very familiar with the intrigues and conspiracies of the Imperial Court His father was the head of the Irani party as against the Turani party As the Mir Atish and Deputy-Wazir, he took an active part in counteracting the intrigues of the Turani leader, Intizam-ud-daula, and of the Court party led by the Queen-Mother, Udham Bai Finally, the betrayal of Safdar Jang by Imad-ul-Mulk, which forced him and his son to retire from Delhi made Shuja extremely suspicious of his friends [4]

The situation in Hindustan in 1754 was extremely favourable for the young Nawab of Oudh The government at Delhi was in a precarious state The Wazir, Intizam-ud-daula and the Mir Bakshi, Imad-ul-Mulk, were suspicious of each other, the Treasury was empty, there was lawlessness in the capital, due to discontent in the army for arrears of pay, the Marathas had become the masters of the situation and had installed Imad-ul-Mulk, as Wazir, and Alamgir II, as Emperor The new Wazir's Badakshi troops had become too arrogant and had been forcibly disbanded

1 *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin*, III, p 883, Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi (Br Mus Ms) f 15b

2 Srivastava, A L—*Shuja-ul-daula* vol I, pp 7-8 (In 1750 and 1751-52)

3 *Siyar*, III pp 894 95

4 *Ibid*, p 893, Ahmad Shahi, f 81b-85a (In November, 1753)

The Wazir was now at the mercy of Najib Khan, a Rohilla Resaladar of Najibgur, whom he had rewarded with a jagir in Saharanpur in the upper Doab. Surajmal, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, had crossed over the Jumna and taken possession of a part of the middle Doab The Punjab had come under the possession of the Afghan king, Ahmad Shah Abdali The states of Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad had severed their connection with Delhi politics Bengal was leading an isolated existence, under Ali Vardi Khan [5]

Such were the circumstances when Shuja-ud-daula started his intrigues at Delhi to secure the Wizarat for himself. The Wazir Imad was not unaware of this fact either He planned to checkmate Shuja's designs He issued an Imperial letter patent to Ahmad Khan Bangash, the Nawab of Farrukhabad, transferring the possession of Allahabad to him and started for Allahabad to enforce the royal edict [6] Shuja advanced with his army to attack the Bangash state before the arrival of Imad But the chiefs of the Rohilkhand state marched up to the assistance of the Bangash Nawab Shuja, therefore, turned to the Jat Raja for help, but met with no immediate response Luckily for him, however, the advance of Ahmad Shah Abdali towards Hindustan led to a peace between the two parties, brought about by Najib Khan on the basis of the *status quo* [7]

Inspite of the occupation of Delhi by the Abdali monarch, in January 1757, Shuja carefully avoided associating himself with the Afghan invader, and did not send his *Nazar* to him[8] He thought the Afghan would go back like Nadir Shah and cease to play any part in the future politics of Hindustan, while the Marathas were sure to come back again In fact, he was convinced that he could not establish himself at Delhi without the aid of the Marathas He opened negotiations with the Marathas for entering into a defensive and offensive alliance with them, by a clearly defined treaty [9] Hence Ahmad Shah Abdali decided to punish him and sent out a small force under Jang Baz Khan, with two of the Delhi princes and Imad-ul-Mulk. These troops were to be re-inforced on the way by the forces of the Bangash Nawab and the chiefs of Rohilkhand, who had already submitted to the Afghan king But the sudden departure of the Abdali

5 Tarikh i Alamgir-i-Sani (Br Mus Ms), ff 52a-58b

6 *Ibid*, f 79b 7 *Ibid*, f 83a

8 *Ibid*, ff 106, 109a, Irvine W—*Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pp 64-65

9 Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-daula*, I, p 41

for home, due to illness in his camp at Mahavan, the unwillingness of the Rohillas to be a party to the destruction of Shuja, and the Maratha invasion of Hindustan under Raghunath Rao, brought about by Shuja's promise to cede Benares and Faizabad to them, forced the invading party to break up.[10]

Directly his purpose was served, Shuja was unwilling to make good his promise to the Marathas, on the plea that no active part had been taken by the Marathas in his defence. But he did not want to antagonise the Marathas by an open refusal So he merely shifted himself from the scene of action and awaited patiently in his own capital the issue of the contest between Najib Khan, the Abdali's representative, who was now the master of Delhi, and Imad-ul-Mulk, who had enlised the support of the invading Maratha army and the Bangash Nawab.[11] But no decisive action took place A peace was brought about between the two parties by Malhar Rao Holkar, who was Najib's friend and was at that time present in the Maratha camp Najib bowed down before the inevitable and retired to his own jagir, leaving Delhi to Imad and the post of Mir Bakshi to Ahmad Khan Bangash [12]

On the return of the Marathas to the Deccan (1758), Najib was again up and doing He gave asylum to Prince Ali Gauhar and wrote to Shuja and the chiefs of Rohilkhand to come up and cooperate with him and Prince Ali Gauhar, for releasing Alamgir II from the tyranny of Imad-ul-Mulk [13] But Shuja was not prepared to be a party to Najib's plan and quickly formed a plan of his own Muhammad Quli Khan, his cousin and Deputy-Governor of Allahabad, was recognised at Delhi as the Governor of Allahabad So he thought that a campaign against Behar and Bengal by Md Quli Khan and Prince Ali Gauhar would prove to his own advantage, for, if the enterprise succeeded in its initial stage, he could quickly come up and join in the final victory, to share the spoils, and, if it failed he would be able to take direct charge of Allahabad in the absence of Md Quli Khan.

10 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 122b-123b, 127b, Irvine—*I A* pp 68-69, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* (I O Ms) ff 73a-74b, Tarik-i-Faiz Baksh (I O Ms) ff 44a-45a, Sarkar, J N—*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol II, pp 231-32—Translation of the Peshwa's letter, dated 23 February, 1759

11 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 130a-135b, Nuruddin—Najib-ud-daula (Mr Mus Ms) ff 16a-17a

12 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 132b-139a, Sarkar—*F M E*, II, foot-note, pp 151-52

13 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 164a-165b, Nuruddin, ff 19b-21b

Accordingly, he prevailed upon Md Quli Khan to invite Prince Ali Gauhar and promise to secure for him a new state in Bengal. He himself wrote to the Prince offering his own support to the proposed enterprise.[14]

The proposal seemed quite feasible, for the able Ali Vardi Khan had died and his successor, Siraj-ud-daula, had been defeated and killed by the forces of the East India Company, who had put up Mir Jafar as a puppet Nawab. Besides the country was seething with discontent, for the new Nawab had played false to Siraj-ud-daula, their popular ruler, on the battle-field of Plassey, in favour of the foreigners Prince Ali Gauhar started for Oudh Shuja waited on him twelve miles outside his own capital with a lakh of rupees and many costly presents[15] He then requested the Prince to join Md. Quli Khan at Allahabad and start operations against Patna, promising to come up himself immediately after completing his prepara-tions Ali Gauhar marched towards Behar with Md Quli Khan, but failed to carry Patna, and, on the arrival of the British forces from Calcutta, had to seek safety in flight.[16] Shuja now took possession of Allahabad and had Md Quli Khan imprisoned.[17]

Shuja was, however, faced with a delicate problem soon after The Marathas, under Dattaji Sindhia and Jankoji Sindhia, came up to Hindu-stan. They had come with definite instructions from the Peshwa. Najib Khan was to be destroyed, Shuja was to be offered the Wizarat, if he agreed to surrender Allahabad and pay fifty lakhs of rupees in cash, if the offer of Wizarat was refused by Shuja he was to be attacked with the help of the Wazir, and if he then sued for peace, he was to cede Allahabad and Benares and pay a heavy Nazar in return for the post of Mir Bakshi, and if the Wazir refused to march against Shuja, the latter was to be offered half of the tribute to be realised from Bengal and Behar, for his active cooperation in the expedition and the surrender of Allahabad and Benares.[18] Shuja was very anxious to become the Wazir, but he was still more anxious

14 *Siyar*, II, pp 656, 658, Srivastava, *Shuja*, I, pp 58-59—He has slightly misunderstood Shuja's move and has judged it on its result Select Committee Pro-ceedings, 1751, Letter-Watts, dated 23 May, tells us that Shuja was negotiating with Siraj-ud-daula to settle terms for his help against the 'English'

15 Alamgir-i-Sani, f 198b, *Siyar* III, p 906 (January, 1759)

16 *Sayir*, II, pp 663-69, 674, Forrest—*Clive*, vol II, pp 128-37 (April, 1759)

17 *Siyar*, II, pp 669, 671-73, Srivastva—*Shuja*, I, pp 67-71

18 Sarkar—*F M E*, II, pp 232-33—Trans of Peshwa's letter, dated 21 March, 1759.

not to surrender his lucrative possessions which were demanded by the Marathas Hence he decided to follow a policy, which might force the Marathas to withdraw their demands and come to a settlement with him And the situation was not unfavourable for him either The Marathas could not turn their attention towards him without first settling their account with Najib Khan. Najib could always count upon the help of the Rohillas in self-defence Hence Shuja's help to Najib would create a combination strong enough to foil Maratha designs in Hindustan—a factor which might very well force the Marathas to offer better terms to Shuja Shuja, therefore, refused to accept the Wizarat on the terms offered by the Marathas, and when the Maratha forces besieged Najib Khan at Sakartal, he speedily marched up, with a large army, to help Najib, who had already been re-inforced by the Rohillas [19]

It was at this time that the news of the Abdali's rapid march into Hindustan reached Sakartal The Afghan king had received frantic appeals for help from Najib and was not prepared to see his agent in India destroyed There was consternation in the Maratha camp, and their leaders were prepared to go back home, if only they could save their face by realising some indemnity from Najib [20] Imad, in despair, had Alamgir II murdered at Delhi [21] Even Shuja was in a dilemma He could not stay there till the arrival of the Abdali monarch, whom he had antagonised during his last visit to India He could not be sure of Najib's attitude towards him now, for he had been consistently selfish and unfriendly towards him in the past Nor could he run away to his own state and thus part with the Najib as bad friends, for he could see which way the wind was blowing now He, therefore, offered to be a peace-maker between Najib and the Marathas [22] His idea was to placate the Marathas for the future and please Najib Khan as well He felt confident that if only the Marathas could go back home safe, they were sure to come back again and reward his services. And as for the Afghan king, he thought he could easily get round him by giving a suitable *Nazar*, so long as Najib was not in the way The Marathas jumped at Shuja's offer, and demanded twentyfive lakhs of

19 Alamgir-i-Sani, f 210a, Nuruddin, ff 25b-26b, Gulistan, f 78b, Faiz Baksh, ff 46b-47a, Srivastava—*Shuja*, I, pp 78-79 He has not given the real reason for Shuja's support to Najib (November, 1759)

20 Sarkar—*F M E*, II, p 212 21 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 214a-215a

22 Srivastava, *Shuja*, I, p 81

rupees as indemnity from Najib. But Shuja was outwitted by Najib's superior diplomatic skill It was to Najib's interest to see that the Marathas were destroyed and that the Maratha menace was removed once for all. And this was his life's chance, for the Abdali monarch could not be expected to come to his rescue, every now and then, from such a long distance Yet before his patron was actually there to save him, he could not antagonise Shuja. So he showed his willingness about coming to terms with the Marathas, but began to play for time, by carrying on negotiations about the amount of indemnity, till the near approach of the Afghan king forced the Marathas to raise the siege and march northwards to meet the invader [23] Shuja left for home to watch the development of events, from a safe distance [24] Whatever happened, he would at least be able to know the exact intention of the victors and act accordingly

The Marathas were defeated at the battle of Barganghat and fled away [25] Ahmad Shah Abdali now marched to subdue the Jat kingdom But soon the Marathas came up again, under Sadashiv Rao Bhau, to avenge Bararighat They endeavoured to secure the support, or at any rate the neutrality, of Shuja in the coming struggle [26] Shuja knew very well that the Marathas were determined upon securing Benares and Allahabad and that an Abdali victory would rid Hindustan from the constant Maratha menace and leave the control of Delhi in the hands of his Indo-Muslim supporters Yet he dared not join the Abdali camp, because he was apprehensive of his own safety there The Abdali might not have forgotten his defeat at the hands of Safdar Jang (1748) and Shuja's conduct during his last visit to India Hence Shuja wanted to remain neutral, till he was able to find out exactly where he stood in the eyes of the two parties He informed the Marathas that he would join them if they agreed to give him the Wizarat and recognize Ali Gauhar as Emperor At the same time he must have informed Najib Khan that he could not make a common cause with the Muslim party unless the Abdali monarch assured him of his

23 Sarkar—*F M E*, II, pp 215-16

24 *Siyar*, II, p 907, Nuruddin, f 292, Srivastava *Shuja*, I, p 82—He says Shuja went home because of a local Rajput rebellion in Oudh, which was evidently the plea put forward by Shuja, because Shuja knew that he had loyal servants in Oudh to protect his territories, as was done in 1760 when the Marathas invaded Oudh in his absence

25 Nuruddin, f 29a, Sarkar—*F M E*, vol II, p 219 (9 January, 1760)

26 Srivastava—*Shuja-ud-daula*, vol I, p 85.

personal safety and agreed to concede to him the above-mentioned advantages. Because, directly the Marathas accepted Shuja's terms, Najib came in person to Shuja and gave him a signed safe conduct and the robe of investiture as Imperial Wazir from Ahmad Shah Abali [27] Shuja's purpose was served So, he joined the Abdali camp at Anupshahar with seven thousand horsemen and a devoted Gosain corps [28]

Soon after the arrival of Shuja, however, there was scarcity of food in the Abdali camp [29] The Doab was in a devasted state Provisions had to be transported at a heavy cost from distant places Ten lakhs of rupees forwarded by Najib had already been exhausted The chiefs of Rohilkhand and the Bangash Nawab pleaded poverty when asked for money Hence Ahmad Shah Abdali turned to Shuja for contribution [30] Shuja was furious, for he was not prepared to finance an undertaking, the issue of which was still uncertain In fact, when he joined the Afghan king, he was banking upon his wealth to buy off the Marathas, should his adventure happen to miscarry He, therefore, offered to be a peace-maker on the condition that he should be made the Wazir, Shah Alam should be recognized as the Emperor, and the Afghans and the Marathas should go back renouncing all claims in Hindustan [31]

Shuja's offer was accepted by the Shah Even Bhau encouraged Shuja in his negotiations for peace, still hoping to win him over to his side But this conduct of the Maratha leader annoyed his friends, Imad and the Jat Raja, whose interests clashed with that of Shuja, and they left in chagrin the Maratha camp at Delhi [32] Bhau now tried to starve the Abdali to surrender He marched up and captured Kanjpura which was a depot for

27 Nuruddin, f 32b—Signed safe conduct and the robe of Wazir was sent to Shuja after Najib's arrival in Shuja's camp, by Ahmad Shah Abdali

Srivastava—*Shuja-ud-daula*, I, pp 86-94 His idea that Shuja looked upon Najib as his rival and not the Marathas, and that he joined the Abdali, not being alarmed at the Maratha policy of 'enslavement", contradicts his previous statement (p 78), that Shuja joined Najib at Sakrtal because the Maratha policy was "nothing short of an unquestioned supremacy over the whole of northern India"

28 Sarkar—*F M E* II, pp 278-79 29 Sarkar—*F M E*, vol II, p 280

30 *Ibid*, p 281

31 Ibid, p 255—Shah Alam was the title of Ali Gauhar, Srivastva—*Shuja-ud-daula*, I, pp 97-98

32 Sarkar—*F M E*, II, p 255, Srivastava—*Shukja-ud-daula*, I, pp 97-98—He says that negotiations broke down because of differences between the Marathas and the 'Indian Pahans'

the provisions of the Afghans from Sirhind.[33] This forced the hands of Abdali monarch, who crossed over the Jumna to fight the Marathas. Eventually, both the parties encamped at Panipat, waiting to be reinforced by fresh troops (1st Nov.). But the Afghan army of five thousand from Qandahar reached Panipat first and was able to destroy the Maratha reforcement on its way under Govind Ballav Pant (17th Dec.)[34]

Bhau now appealed to Shuja to arrange a peace at any price. Shuja managed to win over the Wazir of the Abdali king, but Najib was not going to let slip the chance of his life and carried his point in the Abdali's council chamber.[35] The result was the fatal battle of Panipat (14th Jan., 1761), in which the Marathas were completely routed, the only important person who managed to escape safely being Malhar Rao Holkar, through the connivance of Najib. Shuja remained inactive on the battle-field despite repeated requests by the Abdali Wazir to take part in the contest, on the pretext of guarding his own post, which was not, however, actually attacked by the Marathas.[36]

Shuja's dubious conduct and selfishness made the Abdali lose faith in him. And since the invader's main interest in Hindustan was the realisation of a regular tribute, he gave the Wizarat to Imad and the Mir Bakhshiship to Najib.[37] Shuja returned home disappointed.

Meanwhile, the Emperor Shah Alam had been defeated by the English in his attempt to capture Behar and was living under their protection at Patna.[38] Shuja now planned to secure control over the Emperor. He marched towards Patna and wrote to the Emperor, saying he was coming up to conduct him to Delhi. The Emperor had by now given up all hopes of the English ever fulfilling their promise regarding conducting him to Delhi. So he agreed to go with Shuja. The English, apprehensive of an attack by Shuja, on the pretext of coming to conduct the Emperor back, agreed to release the Emperor.[39] Shah Alam joined Shuja's camp on the borders of Behar in the middle of June, 1761. But Shuja did not keep his

33 Sarkar—*F M E*, II, pp 267-71

34 Nuruddin, ff 45b-46b Gulistan ff 86a-86b 35 Nuruddin, ff 43b-45b

36 *Ibid*, ff 46b-52b, Sarkar—*F M E*, II, pp 319-54. Srivastava—*Shuja*, I, pp 103-4—His arguments to justify Shuja's conduct is not at all convincing

37 Nuruddin, f 56a, Sarkar—*F M E*, II pp 378-80, Srivastava—*Shuja*, 1, pp. 111-2

38 Sel Com Pro, 17 Feb, 1761 39 Sel Com Pro., 20 May, 1761

promise to the Emperor After occupying the Maratha jagirs in Kora and Karra, he embarked on a campaign in Bundelkhand with the Emperor, and failing to achieve the desired result, came back home.[40]

Ahmad Shah Abdali came to India again to chastise the Sikhs He also tried to solve the problem of the Empire and met the representatives of the different states (Oct, 1762)[41] Since Najib and Imad had failed to co-operate with each other, as was intended by the Shah, he conferred the Wizarat on Shuja, with instructions to install the Emperor Shah Alam at Delhi.

Shuja, accordingly, marched up with the Emperor from Allahabad and was joined by the chiefs of Rohilkhand But the Bangash Nawab paid no heed to the Imperial summons So Shuja wanted to capture the Bangash territories on behalf of the Emperor This the chiefs of Rohilkhand refused to agree to, and finally the illness of Najib, who had joined the Imperial camp at Sekanderabad, and a clash between the Shia Oudh troops and the Sunni Najib-Rohillas, led to the dispersal of the royal party (May, 1763)[42] Shuja returned to his own state with the Emperor.

The enterprising Shuja however, found fresh opportunity for himself in Bengal Qasim Ali, who had been put on the *masnad* of Murshidabad to the exclusion of Mir Jafar by the East India Company, could not stand the domination of his patrons and rebelled against them He was defeated and fled away with a fairly large army and immense wealth and appealed to Shuja for help. He also sent a present of twenty-seven lakhs of rupees for the Emperor and the Wazir[43] But Shuja had again fromed a plan of his own. So he promised help to Qasim Ali, and, at the same time wrote to the English offering his services against Qasim Ali He even asked the newly re-instated old Nawab, Mir Jafar, to send him a formal invitation for help against Qasim Ali[44] His object was to capture Qasim Ali on his arrival in Oudh, and appropriate his wealth as arrears of tribute due to the Emperor from the English, and also to secure the cession of Behar as a price

40 Sel Com Pro, 19 April & 26 June, 1762—Letters F Wendel & Papers of Intelligence

41 Nuruddin, ff 56b-17b

42 Ain-i-Alam Shahi, I (India Office Ms), ff 217a-225b, Nuruddin, ff 57b-60a, *Imad-us-Saadat* (Lucknow Edition), pp 88-91

43 Ain-i-Alam Shahi, I, ff 226a-233a, Faiz Baksh, f 67b

44 Srivastava, *Shuja*, I, pp 164-68, 174-75

for his services against Qasim Ali But the English did not entertain Shuja's offer So Shuja came to an agreement with Qasim Ali, according to which he agreed to reinstate Qasim Ali in Bengal in return for the cession of Behar to him and the payment of three crores of rupees at the conclusion of the campaign. Besides he was to pay the cost of the campaign at the rate of eleven lakhs of rupees per month, so long as Shuja was on active service in Behar and Bengal.[45]

The Bengal expedition, however, inspite of Shuja's careful preparations, proved disastrous for him He failed to carry Patna by assault and was finally surprised by the English forces under Munro at Baksar (22nd Oct, 1764)[46] The Emperor, who had been previously won over secretly, went over to the victors and was received by them with due honour[47] He removed Shuja from the Wizarat and gave the post to his own son, Mirza Akbar Shah Shuja's state was now overrun by the English, on behalf of the Emperor, and he had to run away to Rohilkhand (Feb, 1765).[48] His only gain from the enterprise was the wealth of which he had robbed Qasim Ali, by treacherously arresting him while on campaign[49]

But all the wealth and entreaties of Shuja failed to secure for him the support of the Bangash Nawab and of the Chiefs of Rohilkhand against the English[50] In desperation he hired a contingent of the Maratha troops, under Malhar Rao Holkar, which was then in Hindustan and gave battle to the English at Kora (May, 1765)[51] He was again defeated and took refuge at Farrukhabad

Shuja now decided to throw himself upon the generosity of the English[52] And luckily for him, Lord Clive, who had just taken over charge of the government at Calcutta, was in favour of establishing a friendly state on the borders of the English possessions as a barrier, as against his predecessor's policy of supporting the Emperor in those parts[53]

45 *Siyar* II, p 746
46 Sel Com Pro, Nov, 1764, *Siyar*, II, p 702
47 Calendar of Persian Correspondence, 11, No 1044, Gulistan, f 120b
48 Secret Com Pro, 6 Dec, 1764 & 7 Jan, 1765
49 *Siyar*, II, pp 754-56, Srivastava, I, pp 214-18
50 Faiz Baksh, ff 69a-70a, Gulistan f 121b, Tawarikh-i-Afaghana (Br Mu Ms), f 70a
51 Sel Com Pro, 29 April & 1st June 1765
52 Sel Com Pro, 11 June, 1765
53 *Cambridge History of India*, vol V, p 175

He interviewed Clive at Benares and the result was the treaty of Allahabad (16th Aug., 1765).[54] Shuja was given back all his dominions, with the exception of Kora and Allahabad, which were given to the Emperor as "a royal demense for the support of his dignity and expenses" The East India Company was paid fifty lakhs of rupees by Shuja on accout of the expenses of the recent war And the two parties bound themselves in an alliance of mutual armed support

Such was the inglorious end of the first round of Shuja-ud-daula's diplomatic career His constant aim had been to win back the Wizarat, which his father had once enjoyed. But he was outwitted in this by the superior diplomatic skill of Najib-ud-daula, who ultimately became the Dictator of Delhi All Shuja gained, after an arduous toil, was the empty honour of being the Wazir of an Emperor living in exile He, therefore, tried to use the Emperor, then under his clutches, for self-aggrandisement After an abortive attempt in Bundelkhand, he tried to fish in the troubled waters of Bengal He robbed Qasim Ali Khan of his accumulated wealth, but met in the English more than his match He lost his entire kingdom and was a fugitive in Farrukhabad But the goddess of fortune smiled on him The newly arrived Governor of the government at Calcutta reversed his predecessor's policy, and turned Oudh into a loyal buffer-state under the rule of the ex-Nawab Shuja, however, lost his Wizarat and what was worse still, his freedom of action in future

A F M Khalilur Rahman

54 Sel Com Pro, 7 Sept, 1765 True translation of the text of the Treaty

MISCELLANY

Lassen on
Fictitious and Apocryphal Reports concerning India*

The reports of the 'fictitious' kind are contained in the Epopees in which the campaign of Dionysos to India is chanted, those of the 'apocryphal' kind on the contrary in the fabulous history of Alexander the Great, which is erroneously attributed to Kallisthenes, his companion in arms, and on the origin and gradual development whereof already on another occasion the necessary mention has been made [1] As far as the legend about the Asiatic campaigns of Dionysos is concerned, it is to be noted that according to previous researches thereon, its beginnings can be connected with Indian localities and circumstances pointed out by the historians of Alexander the Great, but that Megasthenes must be considered as the introducer of *Dionysos* into Indian history [2] I have also shown from another treatise, which also belongs to the written monuments of classical antiquity namely, from the biography of Apollonios of Tyana by Philostratos that it contains no communications on Indian matters that can be used

In Greek poetry afterwards the Dionysian legendary circle gained pre eminence and obtained contemporaneously with the Alexander legend poetical treatment, of those poems only one has reached posterity, namely the [illegible] of Nonnos from *Panopolis* in Upper Egypt, who had in the fifth century sung the campaigns of *Dionysos* in forty-eight cantos It is true Nonnos had introduced a reform into epic metrics, and his distinguished himself by great perfection in the construction of his verses, but he has by the frequent use of rare words and by his hankering after bold phantastic images and illogical metaphors sinned against good taste, and displays to us the decay of Hellenic poetry, as well as the deterioration of the creative spirit [4] The style of Nonnos suffers chiefly on account of prolixity and insertion of many episodes, which hinder the progress of the

* Translated with notes from the original German of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* (1858)

1 *Indische Alterthumskunde* II p 734 f and II, p 355 and 370 f

2 *Ibid*, II p 720 f

3 *Ibid*, II p 351 f

4 Bernhardy's *Outline of Greek Literature* II, p 239 f and on the time of *Dionysos Periegetes, op cit*, p 107

narrative. He imitates an older poet *Dionysos* who must have lived earlier than the Periegete of the same name, i e. before 300, and had given to his *Epos* which consists of four books the title of βασσαρικα From a number of passages quoted from his poems by the Byzantine *Stephanos*[5] we learn that Dionysos caused several old Indian nations known from Alexander's history or from elsewhere to fight with the Greek god, only the *Eares* cannot be pointed out from other classical writings If it be permitted with the imperfect knowledge we possess of this portion of Greek literature, to judge on the subject, Dionysos was the first who had enriched the Indian campaign of Dionysos with these victories over separate Indian nations He has also, as far as we are aware, been the first who has represented *Deriades* as the supreme king of the Indians, in which representation he has been followed by Nonnos From the only one long passage still existing in *Stephanos* the worthlessness of his information about India plainly appears In the same manner as the lion is distinguished by his courage among the animals inhabiting the mountains, the dolphins by their leapings among the animals of the ocean, the eagles by their high flight among the birds and the horses by their swiftness among the animals of the plain, so the inhabitants of Kashmira are said to have been distinguished by the swiftness of their legs among the other inhabitants of India In Indian writings we find no mention at all of such an accomplishment among the inhabitants of the beautiful Alpine valley Accordingly there is no doubt that the Greek poet has quite arbitrarily attributed that characteristic to the Kashmirians

If Nonnos to whose Epos I now turn, caused Dionysos in his battles with the Indians to perform more acts than in the other eastern countries, it is not difficult to discover his motive India appeared to his countrymen on account of its great distance and its costly and astonishing products to be a country of marvels, and excited therefore in Nonnos the wish to cause his poetical talents to appear in the most favourable light in his representation of the campaigns of the Hellenic god

As it can be indisputably demonstrated, that in the composition of his Epos, Nonnos had no Indian traditions before his eyes, and has merely and

5 *Stephanos Byz* and the word Γαζος, Γανδζοι who are by other authors more correctly called Γανδαροι, Δαρσανια which town is nowhere else mentioned, Ξαρες, κασπειρος, μαλλο, πανδαι, υδρακαι who are otherwise correctly named υδρακαν ; , s above I p 800

mostly used on that occasion his own fictions borrowed from Greek mythology, I consider myself justified in recording his information on the exploits of Dionysos in India, only with the greatest brevity

To begin with Δηριάδης the name of the supreme king of India, it is not an indigenous but a Greek name derived from δῆρις force, competition Therefore it means the sovereign of the Indians fighting for preference with the Hellenic god That Deriades is a creature of the Greek poet is superabundantly confirmed by the statement that he was a son of the river-god *Hydaspes* and of the nymph *Astris*, who was the daughter of the sun-god, and of the Nayade *Keto* [6] In conceit herewith, to the Indians an origin modelled according to Greek ideas is attributed, namely from a giant *Indos*, whom *Zeus* had in his fight with his father *Kronos* prostrated to the ground [7]

In the first twelve cantos of his Epos, Nonnos takes no notice of India, only in the thirteenth, he causes *Zeus* to send *Iris* to *Dionysos* with the injunction that the latter should compel the unhappy Indians to drink wine, to hold orgies during the night in the Greek manner, and to send them from India [8] In obedience to this command Dionysos marched with an army of satyrs together with Pan against the Indian *Astracis* whose name, as may be easily seen, Nonnos has formed from the Greek ἀστήρ star. Dionysos vanquished him on the bank of the lake *Astakis* after his victory he transmuted its water into wine, the drinking whereof intoxicates the Indians It would be a fruitless attempt to search for the name of this lake in other writings because Nonnos invented it from the name of the Indian people of the *Astakans* who dwelt between the Indus and the Kophen [9] To the country of this people Nonnos places the nymph *Nikaia* who lived surrounded by lions on the top of a mountain was indescribably cruel, and was loved by Hymnos [10] Dionysos fell in love with her and committed violence on her whereon she committed suicide, and the god founded a town called after her name The inducement of Nonnos to invent this narrative was, because Alexander the Great had after his victory over the Indian king *Poros* on the Hydaspes founded a town *Nikaia* [11]

6 *Nonnos* XXIII, 351 f in Tr Graef's Ed. II, p 18 f

7 *Nonnos*, XVII, 264 f l q w l p 401

8 *Nonnos*, XIII, 7 f l q w l p 275 f

9 See *Ind Alt* II, p 134

10 XV, 1 f l, q w l p 229 f *Nikaia* is in XVI, 401 called an *Astakian* nymph

11 See *Ind Alt*, II, p 65

For the next exploit of Dionysos, Nonnos had a more ancient authority *Astracis* sought and found aid from another leader of Deriades, with *Orontes*, who was the son of the river-god *Hydaspes* and the brother-in-law of the Indian monarch[12] He marched with a great army against the Hellenic god till Lydia, where he was vanquished by the latter and committed suicide According to a Syrian legend, an Indian warrior of the name of *Orontes* had fallen in battle, on the bank of the river of the same name, which is said to have been named after him. Afterwards the corpse of this hero which was eleven ells long, had been found in the river, and the oracle at Klaros having been asked on the subject, confirmed the genuineness of the corpse[13] The name *Orontes* is not Indian but Persian, and was *Arvanda*, which name is to be explained from the root *Arvat* This word means *running* and must therefore originally have designated a river, and can only later have been transferred also to mountains[14] The river mentioned by the Parsees is probably the one flowing from the *Elwend* mountains near Hamadan which must have been called after it, because the ancient *r* has also in other Persian words been transformed into *l* According to *Indūsī* the Arabs called the Tigris *Arvand* As the Syrian river Orontes was originally called *Typhon*[15] the later name had probably been attributed to it during the Persian rule Herefrom it is sufficiently clear, that the hero named after it, is in the legend erroneously called an Indian Nonnos found the tale existing but had enlarged it in a manner peculiar to himself After the defeat of Orontes, Dionysos decided to attack Deriades in his own country[16] In the campaign he united with the Assyrians whose king Nonnos calls by a name of his own invention *Haphylos*, σταφυλή which as we know means the vine In agreement herewith, his son was called *Botrys* i e grape The ruler of the Indians expected the attack of the Hellenic god on the bank of the Hydaspes[17] *Thyreus* i e the stormer was the commander-in-chief of the Indian army on the western bank of the river, on his return he was drowned in the waves of the river, whereon the victorious Hellenic god crossed the river Arrived

12 *Nonnos* XVII, 97 f I q w I p 373 f 13 *Pausanias* VII, 3, 1

14 Burnouf's *Yaçna* I p 248 f and *Additions* p clxxxi f The name *Orontes* designates besides, the high Derwend chain, South of the Caspian sea

15 *Strabo* XV, 3, 12, p 730 16 *Strabo* XVIII 1 f I q w I p 389 f

17 *Nonnos* XXIII, 1 f I q w I p 489 f

at this point, Nonnos interrupts his narrative by unsuitable episodes, and takes it up again only in the beginning of the seventy-sixth canto [18] Deriades again opposes a large army to the foreign god Of the Indian nations and towns adduced by Nonnos on this occasion, only the very fewest may claim to be borrowed from reports on India This remark holds good also of most of the names of the Generals of Deriades Whilst the *Derdai*, the *Prasioi*, the *Sibai*, the *Bolingoi* and the *Kasperioi*, who respectively answer to the Indian *Darada*, *Prācya*, *Śibi*, *Bhaulingi* and *Kaśmīra* are known,[19] the *Zabioi*, the *Salangoi* and the *Sabeiroi* are not mentioned elsewhere as inhabitants of India [20] His inaccuracy is excelled by Nonnos who makes the *Derbikkans* and the *Baktrians* allies of the Indian supreme king The case is still worse with the Indian towns mentioned Only one of them can be pointed out in other writings, namely *Pattalene* by which name here not the Indus-delta, but the *Pattala* situated therein must be meant Already *Dionysios* had erroneously placed the town *Goros* in India [21] Some of the other towns e g *Aithre* air-town, called the town of the sun-god, *Anthene* the flower-town, and *Melaina* the black-town bear unmistakably Hellenic names, and have therefore been invented by Nonnos or his predecessors The same may be assumed of *Kyra* the mistress and *Rodoe* perhaps the rose-town If this is not the case with the other towns, they nevertheless belong to the unknown ones, and show, that Nonnos preferred unknown Indian towns to celebrated ones Hereto the general remark may be added that Nonnos incurs in his selection of geographical localities the charge of injudiciousness because leaving out the known Indian geographical names he prefers to use unknown ones, thus for instance, of the known Indian rivers he mentions only the *Indos* the *Hydaspes* and the *Ganges*, but also the quite unknown *Ombelos* [22] Lastly

18 *Nonnos* XXVI, 11 f q w II p 311

19 On the less known *Bhaulingi* see above I p 613 Note 5 and III, p 150

20 Wilson suspects in his *Remarks on the Portion of the Dionysiacs of Nonnus, relating to the Indians* in *As Res* XVII p 676 that the *Sabeiroi* were the *Sauvīra* of the Indians, but as this nation is otherwise not mentioned by classical authors this is dubious On the position of the *Derbikkans* see above I p 860 Note 2

21 *Stephanos of Byz* and the word *Γαζος* From the *Bassarika* of *Dionysios* it appears that he had mentioned also *Rhodoe*

22 *Nonnos* XXII, 55, f q w II p 53

as far as the names of the leaders are concerned, these also mostly show a Greek descent This cannot be doubted in *Agraios* i e the wild one, *Phlogios* i e, the flaming one, *Hippuros* i e horse-tail, *Lykos* i.e wolf and *Glaukos* i e the bluish shining one The name of the father of *Orontes, Didrosios* can just as little be explained from the Greek as from the Indian language, on the contrary that of his second son *Morreus* is no doubt a formation from μορρα by which name the material was named, from which the Murhinian vessel so much esteemed by the ancients was manufactured [23] Only by two of the names now in question an Indian descent can be thought of, in *Phingos* namely the *Bhrgu* celebrated already in Vedic hymns [24] and in *Danyklos* the name of the *Dânavas* the enemies of the gods, whose ancestor is called *Danu*, on the other hand it must be said that these two names had probably been mentioned by a classical author, and that in both some resemblance to Hellenic words exists, namely in the first to φέγγος copiousness, plenty, in the second to δῶρον gift Of the other names pertaining hereto it suffices to remark, that even if they are not of Greek origin, they have nevertheless no claim to an Indian derivation

As according to the previous remarks he had only negligently consulted the reports of the classic authors who had communicated heresay informations about India, and has preferred them to his own fictions and those of his predecessors, as it is further certain, and will afterwards be still more confirmed that he had no Indian traditions at all before his eyes, I consider it superfluous to rehearse this representation of the contest between Dionysos and Deriades with all its incidents, and I shall only give the chief points After several calamities,[25] and after the Greek god had seen that the Indians were unconquerable by land, and could be vanquished only by sea, he

23 See *Ind Alt* p 47

24 As Wilson has done l q w p 676 The other Indian geographical names are the following names of mountains *Propamisos* an unusual form of the name *Paropanisos*, *Graikoi*, names of towns *Baidion* on the river *Ombelos* Nesaia Karmina names of peoples *Vato Koitai*, *Yuthoi* *Arienoi*, *Zaoroi* *Iooi* *Arbies* on the river *Hysporos*, they ought to be the *Arabites* about whom see above II p 187 f *Dusaioi*, the islanders *Korai*, the *Dersaioi* the inhabitants of *Areizanteia*, the inhabitants of *Hydrake* or the *Hydrakai* on whom see above I p 800, the inhabitants of Eastern *Tukella* and of *Gorgandis*

25 *Nonnos*, XXVI, 1 f I q w II, p 53 f

found it necessary to cause the Arab *Radamanes* to build a fleet.[26] In the battle which took place on the Hydaspes the Indian king was wounded by Dionysos, fell into the water and was drowned in it Herewith the contest terminated Then Dionysos victoriously returned to Asia Minor.[27] As Nonnos no more mentions India in the ensuing cantos, he does not cause Dionysos to found a durable power over India, nor does he mention any monuments left by the Hellenic god in the remotest country conquered by him This however was done by other authors in epic poems glorifying the campaign of Dionysos to India. Tzetzes, who lived long after Nonnos, has preserved the report that Dionysos had undoubtedly erected columns in India, in memory of his victories over the Indians [28] Another poet had mentioned the bulls of the *Orsqi* Indians, no doubt so called after the Greek god who also bears the epithet of 'ορσιγυναξ because he put the female bacchantes into excitement.[29]

The information of Nonnos

The supposition that an affinity between the Epos of the Greek poet, and the ancient Indian heroic poem, the *Rāmāyana*, can be pointed out, and that the Hellenic god is no other than the Indian *Rāma*, can be just as little demonstrated than another supposition according to which the narrative of Nonnos is said not to be different from that contained in the second ancient Indian Epos, namely the *Mahābhārata* [30] Against this comparison firstly the difference of the causes, from which in the Alrec epopees here in question, the chief action arises, militates In the Dionysiacs it is the command of the highest Hellenic god to Dionysos, to subject the Indians to his worship, in the *Rāmāyana* it is the elopment of the wife of the hero with the giant-king *Rāvana*, in the *Mahābhārata* lastly, the strife between two royal families and their contest for the supreme power.

26 *Nonnos*, XXXIX. ff l q w ll, q w ll, p 34 f

27 *Nonnos*, XI, 275 f l q w ll, p 345 f

28 See his *Chil* VIII, p 261, v 212 f

29 *Plinius* VIII, 31, 1, where he treats of the cattle-race These Indians were black on their whole bodies and hunted monkeys

30 The first supposition has been broached by Sir William Jones in his dissertation *On the gods of Greece Italy and India*, in *As Res* I, p 256 f, the second by Wilford, in his *Essay on the Kings of Magadha*, *ibid* IX p 93 f The untenableness of these suppositions has been shown by Wilson in the treatise mentioned on p 448 note 3

Therefore only the general resemblance remains, that the whole chief action is crowned by a victorious success. The second ground is the inadmissibility of a comparison between the Greek god and the deified hero *Rāma* of the Indians, because the Greeks compare Dionysos with the Indian god *Śiva*, although an original relationship between both does not at all exist.[31]

If I have asserted above that Nonnos had no Indian traditions at all before his eyes in the composition of his poem, I support myself by the following arguments It is true, it may be admitted that in Egypt, his native country, Nonnos might have had favourable opportunities, to draw from Indians sojourning there, information about their country and its state. From the history of commerce it has resulted, that many Indians lived in Egypt, and particularly in Alexandria, in order to trade there In the examination whether Nonnos had really done this, it must not be overlooked, that the writings the chief object whereof was India, have not come down to posterity in perfect state Therefore Nonnos could from the complete copies before him, have taken the geographical names mentioned by him alone From them he may also have drawn the information, that the army of Dionysos had in its passage across the Hydaspes besides other means also used skins fitted with air, as is still at present customary in the Five-stream-land [32] The only statement in the Dionysiacs of Nonnos of which it may be assumed that he was indebted for it to his intercourse with the Indians, is, that a prince called *Habrathoos* subject to Deriades had been for a fault by his supreme lord punished with the cutting off of his hair which is considered by the Indians as a very ignominious punishment [33] This statement agrees with the Indian legend that old king *Sāgara* granted at the intercession of *Vaśiṣṭha* life to the *Yavanas* but punished them by causing their head to be shaved [34] Accordingly Nonnos had probably transferred this tradition to the *Dersaioi* invented by his predecessors, but as this coincidence stands here isolated, the Greek poet may have attributed this ignominious punishment to an Indian nation, also from his having read in some Greek book that it was among Indians considered

31 See *Ind Alt*, II p 790 f

32 *Nonnos* XXIII, 147 f I q w I p 495 and Wilson I q w p 615

33 *Nonnos* XXVI, 152 f I, q w II, p 38 and Wilson I q w p 616 According to the correct division in Graefe's ed *Habrathoos* was not king of the *Dersaioi* but these had with the *Arachotes* the same kings *Giglon Thuraens* and *Hippalmos*

34 See *Ind Alt*, I, I App p vii, Note ,3

ignominious to have bald heads. In my opinion it may be assumed in this case, that Nonnos had not followed Indian traditions but his own inspiration, because he had undoubtedly done so in other cases. Examples hereof are the following. He asserted firstly that the Indians burnt their corpses with tearless eyes, because the deceased had by death escaped the fetters of life, and the souls had returned to their original point of issue.[35] Although it may be correct that on account of the reason here adduced the Indians easily consoled themselves for the loss of their relatives and friends, it is incredible that a nation as easily excitable as the Indian, should not shed any tears at their funerals, and should so easily console themselves for the loss of their relatives and friends. Still more incredible is the second assertion of Nonnos, that the Indians were very skilled in maritime warfare and were to be dreaded more on the sea than on the land.[36] This assertion contradicts all other reports about India. Thirdly, the statements of Nonnos about the Indian deities contradict the supposition most, that he had obtained a knowledge of India from personal contact with some inhabitants of that country. According to one passage *Helios*, the *Earth*, and the *holy water* were specially the gods of the Indians, according to another however they did not worship the sun-god, but only the *Earth* and the *Water*.[37] If it be yet added to the data, that Nonnos frequently represents the river *Hydaspes* as a god, we obtain a very unsatisfactory representation of the gods adored by the Indians at that time. According to Megasthenes the most reliable informant, the mountain-inhabiting Indians worshipped Dionysos or Śiva, the Indians of the plain on the other hand Herakles or Viṣṇu especially in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa, besides the Indians and especially the Brahmans worshipped Indra, Deva, and the Ganges.[38] The four gods who are according to the report of Nonnos said to have been the only ones adored by the Indians belong all to the inferior gods, among them only the sun-god is more prominent[39] but the earth and the waters not at all, because at the time when that Greek poet sang the Indian campaign of Dionysos, the Indian nations through whose domains the Hydaspes flows were by the inhabitants of India counted

35 *Nonnos*, XXXVII, 1 f. I q w II p 247

36 *Nonnos*, XXXVI, 464 f I q w II p 243

37 *Nonnos* XVII, 284-285 I q w I p 381 and XXI, 251 f I q w I p 480 f

38 See *Ind Alt*, II p 697 f and p 1107.

39 See *Ind Alt*, II p 777, p. 794 and p 1120.

among the despised groups and it might at the utmost be assumed that the nations of the Pentapotamy had paid worship to the river Hydaspes, this supposition must however also be rejecteed, because the glorification of the Hydaspes by Nonnos and the placing of the decisive battle between Dionysos and the supreme king of the Indians, Deriades, are merely based on the part that Alexander played on the bank of this river conquering the valiant Indian king *Poros* and had on this river begun his navigation during which he had conquered the Indian countries not reached by him before Alexander's Indian campaign had been the occasion that the authors of poetical compilations of the Dionysian legend-circle had invented tales about the Indus, the Hydaspes and the Ganges, contained in the small treatise erroneously attributed to Plutarchos.[40]

Before concluding the history of the Greek-Roman knowledge of India during the years from 57 B C. to 319 A C it only remains to investigate, whether in the book erroneously put in circulation under the name of Kallisthenes, things are mentioned about India which are worth any mention or explanation Here a sharp line of demarcation must be drawn in the book between the pieces belonging in the complete edition of this treatise to the history of Alexander the Great and between those contained in the small writing directed to *Palladios* In the latter the communications drawn, by the author himself concerning the life and doctrine of the Brahmans, from books, as well as those for which he was indebted to Moses the bishop of Axum are quite worthless Only the data received by him from a Theban scholar, who had lived six years in Taprobane as a prisoner, and had at last learnt the language of the islanders are partly worth noticing, although in them also fiction and truth are commingled[41] Therefore I shall later return to them, on the other hand, the things narrated in the biography in question, concerning Alexander the Great, and concerning India, are to be rejected as pure fables or as absurd corruptions of the truth[42] This appears clearly from the circumstance that the

40 See on these legends, above p 299 where these legends are communicated and explained

41 See *Ind Alt*, p 335 and especially p 370 f The report of the Theban concerning the Brahmans living near the Ganges has been communicated p 372 f and a portion of the information relating to Taprobane was likewise explained there.

42 They occur firstly III, 1-vi p 94-101, b, in C Muller's edition, secondly III, 17 f p 120, 6 f *ibidem*.

author causes the Macedonian hero to reach the country of the *Prastans* with a town of the same name and an island of the same name, of which he is able to relate extremely wonderful things. Thus for instance the destiny of Alexander is said to have been predicted to him in the barbarian unintelligible language and also in the Greek idiom.[43] After his visit to that country, Alexander is said to have had an interview with Semiramis, to have received the homage of Amazons whereon Alexander returned to Babylon. Psendo Kallisthenes therefore entirely omits his navigation on the Hydaspes, the Akesines and the Indus to the sea, and his exploits performed during that time. Therefore it would be useless to discuss this biography of the greatest hero of classic antiquity.

As far as the communications of the Theban scholar are concerned, only those may claim notice, which treat of the products and of the inhabitants of Taprobane. He reports that the island possesses five great rivers, which irrigate and fertilize it. It would have been more correct to limit the number of rivers to four, because only as many are there.[44] That the other king of Ceylon completed many magnificent works for the purpose of irrigating the country is known enough. That by the trees which bore at the same time scions, leaves, and fruits, no other than the cocoa-palms are to be understood suffers no difficulty.[45] It is just as certain that the trees bearing large and small nuts are the Areca-palms. What plant the author meant by the hard shrub is not clear, that the pepper-creeper grows in Ceylon is known, his assertion however that on account of the heat, pigs cannot live among the Indians and the Ethiopians, is an error, because pork is the daily food of the inhabitants of that island.[46]

43 The name Prasiake, which need surely be remarked, is derived from that of Prasioi by which the Greeks designated the mightiest nation of interior India at the time of Alexander the Great and the first part answers to the Sanskrit word *Prâcya* (eastern). Ptolemy means by this name a small region of inner India, see above p. 152. Of an island of this name the classical authors know nothing, nor of a town *Prasiake*. By it only *Palibothra* can be meant, to which the description must be referred. It is represented as a very large and extremely magnificent one, but as the representation contains many exaggerations, it would be superfluous to take notice of it in this place.

44 See *Ind Alt.*, I p. 190. According to the older section the island is said to have possessed such large rivers that five ships could pass near each other, the correct reading is given by C. Mueller in his edition of the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* III, 17, p. 103, 106.

45 See *Ind Alt.*, I, p. 288 and p. 266.

46 Ritter's *Asien* IV, 2, p. 143.

What the Theban scholar had related to the bishop of Axum about the inhabitants of Taprobane and their manner of living, can be true only if a distinction be made between the strictly so-called Singhalese and the barbarian *Veddas* He describes the men of those parts who gathered in the pepper as of very small stature, with large heads and thin hair, the latter was among the Indians frizzled as among the Ethiopians. They subsisted on fruits growing wild, milk-diet, and rice, on certain feast-days they consumed the flesh of sheep and goats They dressed in sheep-wool and in clothes manufactured thereof. This description best suits the barbarian *Veddas*, who yet live in a very low degree of civilisation They are of small and crippled stature The savages among them live in the forest, subsist on fruits growing wild, and if they are, settled near a river, live on the flesh of the animals killed by them They collect their hair in a bunch at the top of the head [17] Herewith the information of the Theban scholar may be compared that the inhabitants of Taprobane have their hair smooth. His general remark that the Indians and Ethiopians had curled hair is not founded on the truth, if it is referred to the Aryan Indians, it may be admitted only of the Gondas and the aboriginal inhabitants of India [18]

If the Theban scholar observed that they dressed in sheep-wool and in clothes manufactured therefrom, this will also apply only to the *Veddas*, because the other Singhalese no doubt also used cotton-clothes The information that among the inhabitants of Taprobane one man was the chief, may be justified by the fact, that among the various classes of his subjects the king of Kandi nominated a chief [49] For the assertion that the Theban scholar had described not the strictly so-called Singhalese but the *Veddas*, yet I adduce the reason that they permitted to themselves the use of animal food, which was impossible among the Singhalese sincerely devoted to Buddhism

A. Banerji-Sastri

47 See *Ind Alt*, I, p 205 with note 3 48 See *Asien* p 375

49 John D'Oylv's *Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom* in *Trans of the R As S* III, p 202

Some Notes on the History of the Fig—Does the word "Phalgu, used by Caraka and Suśruta mean "Añjira"?

In my paper[1] on the History of the Fig I have recorded evidence which suggests that the FIG (*Ficus Carica*) migrated to India very late, the earliest reference to it as "*Añjira*" being found in a Sanskrit *materia medica* of A.D. 1374 The term "*Añjira*" for the FIG is evidently a loan word from the Persian, where it is found in the Post-Islamic Persian.[2] The word TIN for the FIG as used in the *Qur'ān* is Arabic and according to some Western scholars it is borrowed from Akkadian "*tittu*", "*tintu*"[3]

The above evidence raises the question Is there any word in Sanskrit for *Añjira* or *Tin* or *Ficus Carica* ? I have not been able to trace any Sanskrit equivalents to these names of the Fig used in Persian, Arabic and Latin. Recently while reading a Marathi translation[4] of the celebrated medical work *Suśrutasamhita* in Sanskrit I found that the translator had translated the Sanskrit term *Phalgu*[5] by the term *Añjira* This translation led me to examine the question further and I note below some evidence which suggests that the word *Phalgu* used in the *Phalavarga* of the *Suśrutasamhitā* cannot be identified with the *Añjira* fruit

Vāgbhata I (7th century A D) in his celebrated work *Astānga-samgraha*[6] uses the word *Phalgu* in the following verse —

"मौवारबदराङ्कोलफल्गुश्लेष्मातकोद्भवम् ॥१६६॥"

Indu's commentary on the above line[7] reads as follows —

"मोचादिप्रियाकाना बृंहणत्वादिगुणयुक्तम्"

1 *New Indian Antiquary*, July 1941, pp 125-136

2 *Ibid*, p 136 3 *Ibid*

4 *Sārtha Suśruta Samhitā* by Vaidya Krsnaśāstri Phadke, Bombay, 1921 (Part I)

5 *Ibid*, p. 435—*Sūtrasthāna*, ch 46 "क्षीरवृक्ष...अश्वकर्ण फल्गुपरूषक... प्रभृतीनि" ॥१६३॥

(फल्गु=अंजीर trans)

p 436—"विष्टम्भि मधुरं स्निग्धं फल्गुजं तर्पणं गुरु" ॥१८१॥

(Trans "अंजीर मलावरोधकरणारा, मधुर, स्निग्ध, तृप्ती देणारा व गुरु असा आहे")

6 Ed with Indu's Comm *Śaśilekhā* by Pt Ramachandra Śāstri Kinjavadekar, Chitra Shala Press, Poona, *Sūtrasthāna*, (1940).

7 *Ibid*, p 62

In this explanation we miss the explanation of the word *Phalgu* but Mr. R. D. Kinjavadekar in his Sanskrit notes on the line observes.—

फल्गुः काकोदुम्बरिका स्वनामख्यातः खरपत्रो वृक्षविशेषः (काळा उंबर) अत्र केचन फल्गु-शब्देन रामोदुम्बरिकाफलम् (अंजीर) इत्याहुः।"

This explanation[8] shows that a belief exists among the modern Vaidyas that the word *Phalgu* means *Añjīra*, and Vaidya Phadke's equation "*Phalgu* = *Añjīra*" in the *Suśrutasamhitā* is evidently on the lines of this belief We must, therefore, see if this belief is warranted by the earliest explanation of the word *Phalgu* occurring in Sanskrit medical works or elsewhere.

In the *Astāngahrdaya*[9] of Vāgbhata II (8th or 9th century A D) the line[10] from the *Astāṅgasamgraha* is obviously repeated as follows —

'सौवीरबदराङ्कोल्लफल्गुश्लेष्मातकोद्भवम्"

The commentators Arunadatta (*c* A D *1220*) and Hemādri (*c* *1260* A D) explain[11] the word as "फल्गु —काकोदुम्बरिका". In footnote 30 of my paper[12] on the History of the Fig I have recorded the following facts —

(1) *A D* *1374*—Madanapāla refers to *Añjīra* in the line —

"अजीरं मंगुलं मेहं काकोदु वरिकाफलम्"

(2) Madanapāla appears to equate the fruit काकोदुंवरिका with अंजीर perhaps on account of the similarity of the latter with the former

(3) *Amarakośa* (before 8th cent A D) uses the word *Phalgu* in the following line —

"काकोदुम्बरिका फल्गुर्मलपू(यू)जंघनेफला"

(4) Bhānuji Dīksīta (*c* *A D* *1630*) explains the above line from the *Amarakośa* as —

"काकप्रिया उदुम्वरी...चत्वारि 'मलय्वा' 'कदुम्बरो' इति ख्यातस्य"

(5) Sarvānanda (*A D* *1159*) comments on the above line —

"काकोदुम्बरिकाचतुष्कं कोट्टाडम्बर इनि ख्याते'

It would appear from all these explanations that the word *Phalgu* used by the *Suśrutasamhitā* and repeated by Vāgbhata I and Vāgbhaṭa II in their treatises means औदुम्बर or its variety काकोदुम्बरिका with which later

8 *Ibid*

9 Ed by Hari Shastri Paradkar, N S Press Bombay, 1939 (with my English Introduction dealing with Vāgbhata II and his Commentators)

10 *Ibid*, p 110—*Sūtrasthāna*— "अन्नस्वरूपविज्ञानीयः अध्यायः ६"

11 *Ibid*, pp. 110, 111. 12 *New Ind Ant*, July 1941. pp 131-132.

Madanapāla (in A.D. 1374) possibly identifies the term अंजीर. The explanation of Madanapāla being a very late one can have no determining force in equating *Phalgu* with *Añjīra* as our Vaidyas are inclined to do at present. This view of mine is further substantiated by the following evidence —

The *Caraka Samhitā*, the earliest known medical text uses the word *Phalgu* in the following line: —

"तर्पणं बृंहणं फल्गु गुरु विष्टम्भि शीतलम्"

Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* 1060 A D.) explains the word *Phalgu* as "*Audumbara*" In view of this explanation of the earliest commentator on the earliest medical treatise of *Caraka* I am inclined to believe—

(1) that the word *Phalgu* used by Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhata I, Vāgbhata II means "*Audumbara*" fruit as stated by Cakrapāṇidatta (*c* 1060 A D) and

(2) that it may have been used for a variety of the "*Audumbara*" fruit called by the names काकोदुंबरिका, कोट्टाडंबर, काउम्बरी, कदुम्वरी. When *Añjīra* got naturalized in India people may have called it by these names perhaps on account of its similarity with the Añjīra If काकोदुंवरिका is identical with "काळा उंबर" a *black audumbara* as suggested by R. D Kinjavedakar we may be able to account for the name काकोदुम्बरिका for *Añjīra* mentioned in the work of Madanapāla in A D 1374 Prof Shaikh[14] mentions some varieties of Añjīra which include "a *blackish variety generally used in medicine*" Perhaps this blackish variety may have been used for medical purposes in India in Madanapāla's time and hence it may have been confounded with काकोदुम्बरिका or a blackish variety of the *Audumbara* fruit mentioned in the *Amarakośa*

In view of the foregoing discussion I find it difficult to equate *Phalgu* of the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Suśrutasamhitā* with *Añjīra* For the present I am inclined to accept the explanation of Cakrapāṇidatta (*c* A D. 1060) that *Phalgu* in the *Carakasamhitā* means "*audumbara*" The medical glossary *Dhanvantarinighantu* which is earlier than the *Amarakośa* contains no reference to *Añjīra* but on the contrary the properties of the "*audumbara*" and "*Kākodumbarikā*" are separately given in it.

13 *Carakasamhitā*, N S Press, Bombay, 1922, p 156

14 *NIA*, July 1941, p. 136.

In a paper contributed by me to the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Hyderabad) I have pointed out (1) that Bindusāra, the father of Emperor Aśoka ordered some figs and raisin wine from Antiochus Soter, the then king of Syria[15] These figs were sent to Bindusāra by his Syrian ally. Bindusāra came to the throne in B.C. 298, while Antiochus died in B.C 261 In view of this interest of Indians in the *figs* as early as 3rd century B C., one wonders why the *Añjīra* or *Fig* appears very late in Indian literature Is it possible to find any evidence in Indian sources about at least *imported figs*, if not those cultivated on Indian soil? Any evidence bearing on this question from Indian sources between say B C 100 and A D 1000 is eagerly awaited by me from scholars working in the field of the early history of Indian culture

P. K. GODE

A hitherto-unknown Version of the Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā

Several versions of the *Simhāsanadvātrimśikā* are known[1] A hitherto-unknown and interesting version of the work has of late come to my notice in a Bengali manuscript belonging to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta The work which is generally called *Kālikāmangala* in the majority of the colophons[2] refers to the greatness of the goddess Kālī or Rankinī through the *motif* of the *Simhāsanadvātrimśikā*

The work gives through the mouths of the statuettes fixed to the throne a running account (and not stray incidents only) of the life-story of king Vikrama beginning from his previous life when he was born as a sage named Kankana The sage became an adept in the art of stealing through the grace of the goddess Rankinī who was propitiated by the long-continued worship of the sage In practising the art the sage stole all ornaments of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva who being exasperated tore him into pieces The head of the sage, severed from the body, meditated on the goddess who

15 V Smith, *Early History of India*, (Oxford, 1914), p 147.

1 Five versions have been dealt with by Edgerton (Harvard Oriental Series, Nos 26-7)

2 A number of the colophons refer to the work variously as *Kālikāpurāna*, *Simhāsanvatrisā*, *Puttalisamgita*, and *Ṣatsambādabhāṣā* The name of the author is given as Śivarāma Ghos, son of Rājendra Ghos and Rādhikā There is no reference either to the source of the stories or to the time of composition

became furious at the destruction of her devotee. Śiva begged pardon of her and prophesied that the sage would be born as a king and would be endowed with *Siddhis* (supernatural powers).

So in due course the sage was born as king Vikramāditya, second son of the sovereign king Kanakāditya and his second wife Kalāvatī. His elder brother Śakāditya ascended the throne on the death of the father At the age of twelve Vikrama was initiated into the cult of Kālī, who one night asked him in sleep to rule over the subjects as king Vikrama forthwith went into the room of his elder brother, killed him and ascended the throne

After a year Vikrama went to his preceptor who would not even see his face as he had committed a grave sin by killing his own brother So at the desire of the preceptor Vikrama went on pilgrimage and on his return in disguise after twelve years found that every day a new king was selected to be killed every night by the spirits He expressed his intention to be the king, satisfied the spirits by means of sumptuous feasts and escaped from their clutches But they declared that the king was not yet free from sin So he again went to the preceptor and at his direction worshipped Kālī with severe austerities and was granted *Siddhi* by the propitiated deity.

The story as to how Vikrama acquired the throne is a long one The throne was specially prepared by Viśvakarman, the Divine artisan, at the request of Indra who gave it as a present to a Brahmin king Nepāla by name Nepāla had a daughter Maunavatī, who declared that she would marry the person who could induce her to speak Many were the princes that came from different parts to try their luck but all failed and were sacrificed before the goddess Bhadrakālī Sudhākara, a Bhāt (bard) who also came but failed, bribed the guard, escaped death, went to the court of the large-hearted king Vikrama and begged of him to secure Maunavatī for him Through the grace of Kālī the king succeeded in winning Maunavatī and along with her the throne as a marriage present and made over the princess to Sudhākar

But even such a great man as Vikrama must be put to a test by the gods and so Śiva in the guise of a mendicant came to test him He considered the king impious and left his place without accepting any alms. At the importunities of the king, He indicated the characteristics of a virtuous man According to Him an ideal man was the Bhoja king Vīrabala Vikrama went to the capital of Vīrabala to make acquaintance with him. He first of all came in contact with a lady who became deeply attached

to him, so much so that she paid him three lacs of rupees on two consecutive days so that he might have the privilege of being entertained by the well-known courtesan Lakṣa Hīrā (Hīrā whose fee was a lac of rupees). When Vikrama reached Hīrā's house on the first day and was talking with the lady, a monkey came and related the story of the Rāmāyana. Vikrama was highly pleased and gave him the lac of rupees he had with him. Next day he went with two lacs, when a *Śuka* bird that came there at the orders of Śiva, narrated at the request of Hīrā, the exploits of the mother-goddess as recorded in the *Mārkandeya Purāna*. The manuscript which is incomplete comes to an end in the middle of this narration.

Altogether the manuscript contains the stories as told by twelve statuettes the names of which are different from those in other versions, e.g., Sukeśa, Yogeśī, Bhīma, Nīlasena, Nala, Raktākṣa, Hingulākṣa, Makarākṣa, Anala, Anila, Sūcīmukha and Vakadanta.

The introductory story as to how king Bhoja came upon the throne is also given here in a different manner. It is stated that on one occasion a Brahmin handed over seven jewels which he had received from a king to a merchant friend with the request that these should be made over to his wife. The merchant, however, misappropriated the jewels and on a complaint being made to king Bhoja the Brahmin failed to prove his case and was punished. When he was being escorted by the police followed by the merchant and his friends through a forest, a cowherd boy seated on an ant-hill and playing the rôle of a king, called them and heard the case. He thereupon asked the Brahmin, the merchant and his friends to make clay-models of the jewels and in this way detected the real culprit. Bhoja was astonished at the wisdom of the cowherd-boy and on enquiry came to learn that it was all due to the famous throne of king Vikrama which lay buried under the ant-hill. So Bhoja went there, threw down the cowherd-boy, unearthed the throne and when on an auspicious day he made an attempt to occupy it, he was opposed by the first statuette who described the story of the previous life of Vikrama, the real and worthy owner of the throne and fell down. The others also followed one after another each time a fresh attempt was made, with the narration of a part of the life-story of Vikrama.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Was Cirañjīva's Patron a Gond?

Writing in Volume XVIII of the *Quarterly*, Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya remarks.—

"The term *Gauḍa* apparently signifies that the family of Kṛpārāma (grandfather of Cirañjīva's patron Yaśavantasimha) originally belonged to the Gond tribe, which founded several states during this period in the Central Provinces What led a distinguished Bengali scholar like Śatāvadhāna Bhattācārya to seek the patronage of this Gond chief cannot be ascertained."

I wonder what led the learned Professor to identify the *Gaudas* with Gonds. Had he consulted any of the Muslim histories of the period, the *khyāta* of Nainsī, or even Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, he would have found that the *Gaudas* are one of the well-known 36 clans of the Rajputs According to Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojha, much of the territory adjoining Ajmer was once in the hands of the Gaudas, and the Marot parganā of the Jodhpur State is still known as *Gaudavāṭī* or the land of Gaudas [1] Up to 1809, a Gauda chief was also the master of a principality near Gwalior which yielded rupees twelve lacs a year in those days when the price of Rupee was much higher than it is now [2] In Rajputana they are till now the masters of Rājgaṛh

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Was Karṇa Caulukya either defeated or killed by the Cāhamāna ruler Durlabharāja

In his *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, Dr D C. Ganguly states that the Cāhamāna ruler Durlabha assisted Udayāditya of Mālwā in defeating Karna Caulukya of Gujarāt [1] Dr H C Ray goes further even than this, for in his *Dynastic History of Northern India* he writes

1 Ojha—Hindi translation of the *Tod's Rajasthan*, I, Chapter VII, Note 238, p 478

2 *Ibid*, p 302

1 Pp 131-132

that the tradition preserved in the *Hammīramahākāvya* that Karṇa was killed by the Cāhamāna Duśśala has probably some foundation in fact.[2]

That both these learned writers have gone wrong would be obvious to those going through the following verses of the *Pṛthvīrājamahākāvya* which forms one of our most reliable sources for the history of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī[3]:—

तस्य विग्रहराजेन भोगीन्द्रेणानुजन्मना
शेषेण च महीभारं त्याजिताः पृथिवीभृतः ॥७१॥
मालवेनोदयादिन्येनास्मादेवाप्यतोन्नति·
मन्दाकिनीह्रदादेव लेभे पूरणमब्धिना ॥७६॥
सारङ्गाख्यं तुरङ्गं स ददौ यस्मै मनोजवम् ।
न ह्युच्चैश्श्रवसं क्षीरसिन्धोरन्यः प्रयच्छति ॥७७॥
जिगाय गूर्जरं कर्णं तमश्वं प्राप्य मालवः
लब्ध्वानूरुस्सूर्यरथ करोति व्योमलङ्घनम ॥७८॥

Dr D C Ganguly's mistake consists in not seeing that the above verses refer not to Durlabharāja but to his younger brother Vigraharāja III and that of Dr H C Ray in not having kept these in view while writing his account of the Caulukyas of Gujarat

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Subandhu

In the *IHQ*, for December, 1942 (Vol XVIII, No 4), pp 373-5, Dr Manomohan Ghosh has a note on the question of the date of Subandhu In it, he says, that the mention of Vikramāditya in one of the introductory verses of the Vāsavadattā, the prose romance of Subandhu, is not 'a conventional harking back to happy times long past,' but forms a reliable evidence for taking Subandhu to have 'lived very close to Vikramāditya' (Candragupta II, A D 374-413) He further suggests that Subandhu could not complete his Vāsavadattā during this Vikramāditya's time, that Candraprakāśa, the successor of King Vikramāditya patronised Subandhu and made him one of his ministers. And this, according to Dr Ghosh, is the signi-

2 Vol II, p 964 In justification of the above view, Dr Ray adds also the note "Duśśala was sixth in descent from Vigraharāja, the enemy of Mularāja from whom Karna was fifth in descent"

3 Canto V

ficance of Vāmana's reference to Subandhu[1] as the minister of Candragupta's son.

We shall not discuss here the date of the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu printed by the Vani Vilas Press and others, but shall confine ourselves to the Candragupta and Subandhu referred to by Vāmana. Some years back, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi discussed this point in a note of his entitled Nrttapāra in one of the issues of the now extinct *Tirumalai Śrī Venkateśa*, As early as 1924, the late Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvatī dealt with this same point in the *Ind Ant.*, pp 8 ff and 177 ff I had occasion to take notes of this question during my study of the *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta on the Nātya Śāstra and as it is of some importance, I may be permitted to draw the attention of scholars to it with this note of mine

Abhinavagupta is explaining the six kinds of Śārīrābhinava, in the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter of the Nātya Śāstra One of the varieties of Śārīrābhinaya is called Nātyāyita, of which Abhinava gives two sub-classes, one being the small variety illustrated by the *Garbhānka* or a sub-drama within an act as in the *Uttararāmacarita* or the *Balarāmāyana*, and the other being the big variety, a case of sustained Nātyāyita, the entire story being developed in a series of acts within acts As an illustration of this second and sustained variety of Nātyāyita, Abhinava mentions the *Vāsavadattā Nātya dhāra* of Mahākavi *Subandhu*

तत्रास्य बहुतरव्यापिनो बहुगर्भस्वप्नायितुल्यस्य नाट्यायितस्य उदाहरणं महाकवि-सुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाट्यधाराख्यः समस्त एव प्रयोगः ।

तत्र हि बिन्दुसार· प्रयोज्यवस्तुन (-वस्तुनि) उदयनचरिते सामाजिकीकृतोऽपि, उदयनः वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते । एष चार्थः स्वस्मिन्सूत्ररूपके (सर्वस्मिंस्तत्र रूपके?) दृष्टे सुज्ञानो भवति । अतिवैतत्यभयान्न न प्रदर्शितः । एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाह्रियते । तत्र उदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोगः

'तव सुचरितैरेष जयति' इति ।

तत उदयनः 'कुतो मम सुचरितानि' इति सास्र' विलपति ।

'एह्यम्ब कि कटकपिगलवा चस्तै. (?)

भक्तोऽहमभ्यु(स्यु)दयनः सुललितानीयः (सुतलालनीयः?) ।

1 The Vani Vilas Press edition of Vāmana's Kāvyālankārasūtras and Vrtti wrongly reads here Vasubhadhu, it is necessary to emphasise once more that it is a wrong reading, since some scholars still rely on it for assigning Vasubandhu to the time of Candragupta II and his son

योगन्धरायण ममानय राजपुत्री (त्रोम्)
हा हर्षरक्षित गतस्त्वमपि प्रभावः ॥
तत्रैव बिन्दुसारः सामाजिकीभूतः परमार्थतामभि (मन्य) मानः
'धन्या खल्वप्रलापै......श्च सति' ।
प्रतोहारी—(आत्मगतम्) 'अ अणिद परमत्थकलने हि श्रि इखुदेवो इत्यादि ॥"

Abhinavabhāratī, Madras Govt Ori Library, Ms Vol III p 45

On p 47, *ibid*, again, Abhinava says

"नाट्यायितं च वासवदत्तानाट्यधारे प्रतिपं (प्रतिपदं) दृश्यते ।"

Earlier, in vol II, p 448, Abhinava mentions Candragupta and Bindusāra as characters in drama

अन्ये त्वाहुः पूर्वं राजर्षिवंशप्रभवा नायका उक्ता । अनया त्वार्यया चन्द्रगुप्त बिन्दुसारादयोऽपि संगृह्यन्ते इति ।

In the *Natyadarpana* of Rāmacandra and Gunacandra, we find a reference to this drama mentioned by Abhinavagupta

"बन्ध इति परैर्ग्रहणम् । यथा वासवदत्तानृत्तवारे वत्सराजस्य ।

Gaek Edn Ch I, Sl 21, p 36

These references reveal to us a great poet, Mahākavi, named Subandhu and a peculiar type of drama composed by him named Vāsavadattā Nātyadhāra (-vāra) in which the stories of both Udayana and Bindusāra seem to have been dramatised, with Bindusāra witnessing Udayana's story, Udayana becoming audience to Vāsavadattā's act and so on Candragupta also figures in the story of Bindusāra

One of the introductory verses in the *Avantisundarī* of Dandin refers to this Subandhu, his relation with Bindusāra and to the story of Vāsavadattā Nātyadhā(vā)ra mentioned by Abhinava

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तः बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
तस्यैव हृदयं बद्ध्वा वत्सराज. ... . ॥

Madras Govt Library Triennial Catalogue, 1919-22, R 3454 (p 5150)

These references show that by Candragupta's son and Subandhu mentioned by Vāmana, we need not understand only the Gupta king Candragupta II or the author of the prose romance Vāsavadattā The citation and explanation in Vāmana can very well refer to the great dramatist mentioned by Abhinavagupta and the drama Vāsavadattā Nātyadhā(-vā)ra in which Candragupta Maurya and his son Bindusāra figure Of this Bindusāra, Subandhu was a minister. Vāmana's quotation suggests difficulties

for Candragupta's son, as also the help rendered to him by wise counsellors like Subandhu. Such a state of things could well be imagined from a perusal of the *Ārya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* also, where we find Bindusāra coming to throne as a boy,[2] and the Brāhmaṇa later referred to in the same work as one whose-name begins with *'Sa'* is probably, as suggested by Jayaswal, Subandhu.[3]

On other grounds also, such as the mention of an *Ākhyāyikā Vāsavadattā* by Patañjali, it seems unnecessary to suppose Bāṇa as referring to the available *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu.

V. RAGHAVAN

Date of the Ratirahasya

Of the *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka, an important work in Kāma Śāstra, Schmidt, Winternitz and Keith have not been able to suggest any date earlier than the 13th or 12th century. Recently in a Note on the Kāma Śāstra work *Gunapatākā* in the *IHQ*., XVIII, ii, pp. 166-7 I pointed out that the *Ratirahasya* had used the *Gunapatākā*, the *Jayamangalā* on the *Kāma Sūtras* had used the *Ratirahasya*, and that Bhoja had used the *Jayamangalā* in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, which shows that the *Ratirahasya* is older than Bhoja, (*c.* 1010-1062 A.D.)

Is it possible to suggest a still earlier limit to the date of the *Ratirahasya*? In one of his endless descriptive passages woven with two meanings, Somadeva Sūri says in his *Yaśastilakacampū*, p. 25, Kāvyamālā 70, part 1:

'चरणनखसंपादितरतिरहस्यरत्नदीपविरचनैः'

It will not be out of the way of the erudite and encyclopedic writers of this type if we suggest that Somadeva refers to the work *Ratirahasya* here

2 Tri. Skt. Series, text, part III, p. 613, Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, Skt. text, pp. 32-3

3 Tri. Text, pt. III, p. 653, Jayaswal's Text, pp. 72-3, तस्यापरेण विख्यातः सकाराद्यो द्विजस्तथा. Thus *Sa*-kārādya Dvija or Subandhu is mentioned just after the *Vi*-kārādya Dvija, which is Visnugupta, both are said to have been in *Puspapura*, the Mauryacapital. The corrupt text here may thus be reconstructed

तस्यापरेण विख्यातो त्रिकाराख्यो (विकाराद्यो) द्विजस्तथा ।
परे (पुरे) पुष्पसमाख्याता (ते) भवितासौ etc. ॥

in his description of the city damsels. That a literary composition is meant receives strength from the use of the word 'विरचन'.

Somadeva says at the end of his Campū that it was written in A.D. 959 and we may therefore push up the limit of the date of the *Ratirahasya* to 959 A.D.

If the passage in Somadeva's Campū refers to the *Ratirahasya*, it also refers to a *Ratnadīpa* on Erotics which I am disposed to take as an old commentary on the *Ratirahasya*. No such work has however been known yet from other sources of information.

V. RAGHAVAN

The Amarakośavyākhyā of Bommaganṭi Appayārya

In the Madras Govt Oriental Mss Library, there are Mss. of a commentary on the *Amarakośa* by a writer named Bommaganti Appayārya alias Mārapota (R Nos 1170, 1401, 4557).

व्याचष्टामरसिंहनाथरचितं ग्रन्थं निघण्टूत्तमं
ख्यातं शिष्यहितार्थमप्ययसुधीः श्रीमारपोताभिधः । R 1401. (End).

Thus Appayārya alias Mārapota flourished in the court of a Śiṅgabhūpāla of the Recarla family, who is styled in two verses as Kumāra Siṅga

रेचर्लवंशसम्भूतेरास्थान्यां शिङ्गभूपतेः ।
बोम्मगण्ट्यप्पयाचार्यमूर्त्या जागर्ति शारदा ॥
कुमारशिङ्गभूपेन लक्ष्यलक्षणवेदिना ।
शोधितश्चेदयं ग्रन्थः किं शोध्यं शोधकान्तरैः ॥
कुमारशिङ्गभूपेन यः कदापि न शोधितः ।
स ग्रन्थः शोधितोऽप्यन्यैः किं व्यवह्रियते बुधैः ॥
काव्यालङ्कारनानार्थतत्त्वभावितमानसः ।
कुमारशिङ्गभूपाल एक एवास्ति नापरः ॥ R 1401. (End).

That this patron of Appaya Mārapota, Kumāra Śiṅga, was also styled Sarvajña is known from the last verse of the *Amarakośavyākhyā* in which the author is praised through śleṣa

जैवातृकं बुधगुरुं निलयं कलानां
सर्वज्ञमूर्धमणिमाश्रितशुद्धपक्षम् ।
श्रीबोम्मगण्ट्युपपदाङ्कितमप्पयार्यं
सर्वेष्टितोषितसुरं द्विजराजमाहुः ॥ R. 1401. (End)

In the epithet 'Sarvajñamūrdhamaṇi' here, Sarvajña refers to Śiva and Kumāra Śiṅga. In the body of the work, Bommagaṇṭi specifies that his patron is unequalled in Sāhitya Vidyā.

ख्यातः साहित्यविद्यायां केवलः शिङ्गभूपतिः ।

R. 1401 p 313 line 14

When we think about the identity of this patron of Bommagaṇṭi, we are reminded of Śiṅgabhūpāla, the author of the *Rasārnava Sudhākara,* and the patron of Viśveśvara, the author of the *Camatkāracandrikā* The author of the *Rasārnava Sudhākara* was also styled Kumāra Śinga and Sarvajña[1] The *Camatkāracandrikā* says in two places

कुमारश्रीशिङ्गे जलधिरशना शासति महीम् ।

Pp. 33. 104 R 2679 (Madras Ms).

विद्यादैवत तात तावकगुरो सर्वज्ञचूडामणे

P 59 *ibid*

Therefore we may take that along with Viśveśvara, Bommaganti Appayārya alias Mārapota also flourished in the court of the author of the *Rasārnava-sudhākara* whose time is *c* 1385-1410 A D

This Bommaganti Appayārya appears as the Guru of a Harihara, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, son of Narasimha, and author of commentaries on the *Anargharāghava* (Madras R 484 Trivandrum Palace Des Cat 1448) and on the *Tārkikaraksāsārasangraha* (Tanjore New Cat 6520-5)

WORKS AND AUTHORS QUOTED IN BOMMAGANTI APPAYĀRYA'S AMARAKOŚAVYĀKHYĀ

Ajaya pp 211 ll 8, 251. 15, 260 10, 282 21; 284 10, 291 6, 385 1, 387 11, 389 20, *Abhinanda* pp 337 ll 7 *Amaramālā* pp 264 ll 1 326 4, 346 9, *Āpastamba* pp 213 ll 3, *Āpastambīya mantra praśna* pp 203 ll 18 *Ālankārikas* pp 11 ll 15 *Upasarga vrtti* pp 148 ll 7, *Kātya* pp 322 ll 8 *Kālidāsa* his poems are frequently quoted, his dramas are also quoted, but less frequently *Kāvyaprakāśika* (-udāhrtaśloka) pp 148 ll 9, 233 7, 427 11, *Kāśika* (Kāśikākāra also) pp 201 ll 6, 105 7, 113 12, 146 13, 210 17 210 20, 212 14, 15, 288 2, 347 12, 349 10, 380 8, 412 6, 466 12, 489 2, 493 2, 494 17, 520 6, *Kiranāvalikāra* (Udayana) pp 328 ll 6, *Keśavasvāmin* pp 262 ll 16; 295 9, 311 16, 498 7, *Kaiyata* pp 362 ll 15, *Kautilya*

1 Mr Ch Papayya Sastri of the Telugu Academy, Coconada drew my attention to this fact For an account of the *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśveśvara, see my article in the *Annals BORI*, Poona XVI, 1-11, pp 131-139

(Arthaśāstra) pp 260 ll 12, *Kṣirasvāmin* pp 324 ll. 4, 339. 18; 351 21; Kṣemendra (poet) pp 231 ll 13 *Ganaratnamahodadhi* pp 284 ll. 4, 344. 12, 376 4. 401. 6, *Ganitajñāh* pp 90. ll 8, Gopāla (poet): pp 331 ll 15, (नवानां, कोशधान्यानां यथाकामी च पत्निणः। इति गोपालः।) *Govardhana* (a. of a Yamaka kāvya as q by Sarvānanda) pp 284 ll 11, *Candra* pp. 236. ll. 7, 242 11, 246 5, 271 20, 319 2, 443 4, 457 17, 457 19, 495 16 *Campu Kāvya.* pp 456 ll 5 (नोवीमुन्मुच्य शनैः स्पृशति पतौ करेण काञ्चिपदम्। इति चंपुकाव्ये ह्रस्वान्तस्य प्रयोगः). *Cintāmani* pp 337 ll 10, (चिन्तामणौ उपशब्दादुत्तरेषाम्). *Chandogāh* pp 236 ll 15 *Jayāditya* pp 464 ll 7, 486 11, 505 3, *Tikākāra* (on Amara) pp 91 ll 14, 500 17, *Ṭikāsarvasvakārah*, see Sarvānanda *Tārkikāh* pp 264 ll 21 *Trikāndaśesa* pp 293 1, 341 9, 392 15, *Trikāndi* pp 404 ll 2 ('कामं कामाभ्यनुज्ञायां' इति त्रिकाण्ड्यामुक्तम्) ; *Dakṣināvartanātha* pp 181 ll 4 his c on *Kumārasambhava* where, while explaining 'व्यलीकनिःश्वासमिवोत्ससर्ज', he interprets 'Vyalika' as Lajjā, pp 313 ll 17 his c on *K S*, iv 'हरकोपानलभस्म केवलम्' where he interprets 'Kevala' as Śuddha, pp 332 ll 19 on a different reading (निरीक्ष्य) in *K S* or *R V* *Devimāhātmya* pp 48 ll 4 *Durga* (lexicographer) pp 236 ll 3 *Durgācārya* pp 342 ll 7 (अभिभूषार्थो धातु: दुर्गाचार्येण पठित इति सुबोधिनीकारः) ; *Dravyāvali* pp 301 ll 2, *Dharmakirti* (his lexicon) pp 279 ll 11, *Dhātupradipikā* pp 57 ll 13, *Dhātuvrtti* pp 146, ll 16, 202 8, 294 3, *Dhātuvrttikāra.* pp 45 ll 8, 81 16, *Nāmāvali* pp 180 ll 3, *Nānārthasangraha* pp 181 ll 16, 206 8, 215 8, 233 9, 242 18, 309 5, *Nighantu* pp 242 ll 21, 296 20, *Nairuktāh* pp 36 ll 4 *Naisadha kāvya* pp 234 ll 20, 324 16 340 15, 387 14, 15, 427 17, 457 8, 490 18 498 15, *Nyāsa, Nyāsakāra* pp 212 ll 15, 330 9, 451 9, 505 3, *Pañcapādikā* pp 510 ll 5, *Padamañjari* pp 485 ll 15, *Pāñcarātra* pp 305 ll 15, *Purāna* pp 280 ll 5, 290 15, 297 19, *Pūrnacandra* pp 114 *Prakāśa* (lexicon) pp 175 ll 8, 186 5, *Pratāpa* (lexicographer) pp 175 4, 209 7, 222 6, 227 2, 228 3, 230 4, 235 4, 241 5, 246 7, 290 12, 291 13, 307, 20 501 1, *Prākrtasaptaśati* pp 332 ll 12, *Bārhaspatya Lingānuśāsana* pp 431 ll 3 *Buddha Carira* pp 174 ll 10, *Bodhāyana* pp 372 ll 5, *Bhattāh* (Bhātta mimāmsakas), pp 359 ll 10, *Bhatti Kāvya* pp 89 ll 3, 114 19, 132 9, 242 13, *Bhavabhūti* All his three dramas are quoted, *Bhāgavata* pp 216 ll 2; *Bhāguri* pp 137 14, *Bhāravi* His *Kirātārjuniya* is frequently quoted, *Bhāsyakāra* pp 410 ll 17, *Bhojarāja* pp 190 ll 14, *Manu* pp 234 ll 1 *Mahābhārata·* pp 276 ll 1, 487 6, *Mahābhārata* (*Dronaparvan*) pp 253 ll 10, *Mahābhāsya* pp 290 ll 3, 362 15, 493 3, *Mahābhāsyakāra* pp 153. ll 2 *Mahodadhi* (lex) pp 393 ll. 10, 394 12,

406 11, 425 20, *Māgha* his *Śiśupālavadha* is quoted frequently, *Mādhava* (lexicographer) pp 177 ll 8, *Mārkandeya Purāna* pp 213 ll 22, *Mārtānda* (lexicographer) pp 44 ll 11

स्यात्कुत्सिते (तं ?) वाच्यलिङ्गवद् इत्यकारान्तेषु मार्ताण्डेन अभिधानात् ।
pp 108 ll 13

'वृन्दारकः सुरे श्रेष्ठे मनोज्ञे वाच्यलिङ्गवत्' इति मार्ताण्डे ।

Murāri (dramatist) pp 245 ll 7, 318 14, 387 18, *Murāri nātaka* (*Anargharāghava*) pp 117 ll 9, 238 19, 410 11, *Yamakakāvya* (by Govardhana) pp 284 ll 11 *Yayāticarita Nātaka* pp 133 ll 3, *Yajñavalkya* (Smṛtikāra) pp 183 ll 4, 249 17, *Yādavaprakāśa* pp 253 ll 1, *Rangarāja* pp 200 ll 9 ('वेध्यं लक्ष्यं+विदु.' इति रङ्गराजोदाहृतमभिधानम्) *Ratikañcuka* (a text on kāmaśāstra) pp 332 ll 8, *Ratnakośa* pp 187, ll 16, 473 10, *Rabhasa* pp 226 ll 9, 242 6, 245 19, 251 13, 252 21, 263 1, 321 15, 336 17, 346 7, 354 7, 472 10, 475 13, *Ramāyana* (?) pp 263 ll 13 *Rudra* (lexicographer) pp 133 13, 204 7, 208 21, 216 15, 237 12, 293 6, 301 10, 312 19, 338 1, 344 21, 352 1, 354 5, 404 2, 413 13, 472 6, 473 4, 475 7, 17, 499 9, 500 15, *Līlāvatī* pp 150 14, (अन्वेषणगवेषणे स्त्रीक्लीबयोरिति लीलावत्याम) (*Ācārya*) *Vallabha* pp 150 ll 1 ('द्रव्यादिषट्कविच्छेद-मेलनेन विवर्जयेत्' इति आचार्यवल्लभप्रयोगः) *Vallabhācārya* pp 402 ll 20 (एककोटि-परिग्रहो यद्यर्थः इति वल्लभाचार्यः) *Vallabhārya* commentator on Magha pp 115 ll 12 (स्वयं विधाता×यदृच्छया इति माघश्लोकव्याख्याने वल्लभार्यः ।) *Vākyapadīya* pp 470, *Vāmana*· pp 486 ll 11,

इह द्वैधं जयादित्यः पथः संख्याव्ययात्परम् ।
नपुंसकमुवाचामुं पुमांसं वामनोऽब्रवीत् ॥

pp 510 ll 11, *Vāmanapradīpa* pp 176 20, (तथा च वामनप्रदीपे, 'स्याद्भूतिकं गन्धतृण माला कर्पूरनाम च' इति ।) *Vāmanasūtra* (*Kāvyālankārasūtra*) pp 264 ll 19, *Vāmanīva-lingānuśāsana* pp 495 ll 20, *Vārttika* (gram) pp 209 ll 15, *Vārttikakāra* (Kātyāyana) pp 115 ll 10 *Vedabhāsya by Haradattacārya* pp 489 ll 4 This perhaps refers to Haradatta Bhāsya on Mantrapraśna, see Tanjore no 895-6, Ekāgni kānda) *Vijñāneśvara* (c on *Yāj Smṛti*) pp 183 ll 4, 249 17, 263 17, 499, 17, *Viśvaprakāśa* pp 142 ll 1, 144 15, 173 2, 173 13, 175 1, 175 10, 176 18, 178 1, 179, 180 10, 204 2, 205 15, 226 2, 227 15, 230 4, 248 10, 262 12, 267 11, 272 15, 281 4, 292 17, 293 14, 293 21, 301 14, 302 17, 304 11, 17, 305 2, 310 21, 312 11, 313 2, 316 6, 320 21, 322 15, 326 18 327 17, 334 18, 376 8, 454 19, 456 1, 473 3, 12, 474 1, *Vṛttikāra* pp 267 ll 3, 300 1, 467 10, *Vaijayantī* pp 22. ll 20, 44 7, 224 5, 263 11, 283 9, 297. 1,

299 8, 330 2, 352 11, 400 6, 455 4, *Śankarabhāsya* pp. 290 ll 3 *Śatānanda* pp 56 ll. 2 *Śabdabhedaprakāśa* pp 178 ll 9, 346 13, *Śarvadhara* pp 315 ll 5, *Śākatāyana* pp 279 ll 10, *Śāśvatakośa* pp 172 13, 198 2, 210 5, *Bhatta Śiva* (lexicographer), pp 454 ll 21 *Śivadharma* pp 276 ll 3, *Śesa* (lex)· pp 206 ll 13, 207 10, 208 9, 211 17, 213 21, 215 13, 18, 216 3, 216 11, 216 18, 217 10, 218 10, 220 7, 221 12, 221 19, 223 8, 224 1, 225 22, 226 13, 226 16, 227 4, 227 8, 228 13, 22, 229 19, 230 10, 231 3, 231 17, 233 3, 234 11, 237 5, 24, 241 14, 243 8, 245 9, 13, 246 7, 247 1 247 13, 248 22, 251 1 7, 10 252 9, 257 5, 259 9 260 5, 261 19, 263 6 264 4 9, 265 5, 266 13, 268 21, 271 2, 271 10, 285 15, 288 12, 289 1 8, 291 4, 291 15, 292 20, 300 20, 303 15, 304 2, 6 8, 21, 310 21, 311 8, 312 4, 314 18, 316 9, 19, 322 10, 323 6, 380 10, 388 3, 391 4, 423 18, 439 19, 440 3, 445 14, 526 20; *Śesavyakhyā* pp 230 ll 13, *Śrngaraprakāśa* pp 402 ll 8, *Śruti* pp 160 2, *Samksepa Rāmāyana* pp 90 ll 8, *Sarvānanda* pp 22 ll 20, 25 9, 26 20, 32 20, 38 10 39 10 43 10 45 12, 48 4 52 7 55 19 57 13, 60 7, 80 13, 112 11, 114 16 128 10, 131 16 138 14, 144 4, 155 168 8, 183 4, 183 20, 284 11, *Subodhini* pp 3 ll 8, 4 2, 22 6, 22 20 25 9, 27 11, 30 17, 32 20, 55 19, 57 13, 74 19, 91 3, 130 12 131 10, 145 16, 155 166 16, 174 7 184 6, 191 13, 207 1, 224 12, 232 17, 243 12, 247 3, 249 11, 256 13, 291 7, 297 5, 313 11, 321 6, 324 4, 326 15 327 13, 333 14, 336 8, 339 18 340 21, 342 7, 352 16, 389 14, 400 6, 404 8, 455 3, 456 8, 457 10, 457 20, 472 12, 496 7, 497 12, 15, 499 14, 500 10, 500 13, 506 15, *Subhūticandra* pp 26 ll 16, 27 3, 29 18, 32 20, 35 12, 60 7, 64 14 86 5 92 4, 113 18, 114 16 116 16 119 6, 124 20, 126 19, 131 16, 141 15, 155, 166 18, 174 7 174 20, 180 16, 193 13, 202 1, 230 6, 252 3, 297 6, 313 10, 321 13, 326 16, 334 8, 335 5, 346 9, 352 1, 389 17, 398 3, 400 6, 402 8, 404 2, 455 3 457 7, 458 2, 472 11, 472 16, 487 4, 488 8, 497 16, 499 16, 500 20, 503 11 506 15, *Smrti* pp 31 11, 141 18 160 2, 306 20, *Svara prakarana* (from some music work) pp 193 *Svāmin* pp 22 ll 11, 177, 184 6, 224 12, 234 18, 238 8, 246 2, 249 15, 285 12, 306 9, 308 21, 336 8, 472 12, 20, 501 1, Haradatta (Padamañjari) pp 360 ll 18, 485 15, *Haradattācārya Vedabhāsyakarta* pp 489 ll 4

अत्र वेदभाष्यकर्ता हरदत्ताचार्यः—राजा मनुष्यपूर्वत्वे शालवचस्यापि ? भवति ।

(See Note above under *Vedabhāsya* by Haradatta) *Halāyudha* pp 263 ll 16,

Besides these, many anonymous quotations also occur, such as those from the Gitā, Vālmiki Rāmāyana, Śivamahimnastava, Bhatrhari Śataka, Nāgānanda and Ratnāvali, and Krsnakarnāmrta

A few noteworthy points

1. P. 429 line 1. Appayārya gives here the number of verses in the *Amara* in the Avyaya section.

> आङ्त्यिव्ययवर्गीयश्लोका नेत्रपयोधयः ।
> चिराद्यव्ययवर्गीयश्लोका अष्टोत्तरा दश ॥
> नानार्थाव्यययुक्तास्तु चत्वारिंशदधित्विती । (?)

Nānārtha Avyayas begin with the second half of śl 239, III Kāṇḍa, Nānārtha varga, The verses in this section are 18½, the verses in the Avyaya varga which follows number 23 according to the text commented upon by Bhānuji 'Āṅityādi' refers to the Nānārtha avyayas and 'Cirādi' refers to the Avyayas of the Avyaya varga. We do not know the exact application of the numbers given by Appayārya

2 Besides this, Appayārya says on p 411, line 7, that some commentators did not have and did not offer any comments on a certain passage which therefore seems to have been considered an interpolation The passage in question is on the Avyayas रे and अरे and must have been found as 'Adhika pāṭha' in some Mss in III 4 19, between the first and second lines.

3 P 485 line 15. It is yet an unsettled question whether Haradatta who wrote the Padamañjarī is the same as the Śaivite writer of that name Appayārya thinks that the two are identical·

पथः संख्याव्ययादेरित्यत्र पदमञ्जरीकार· शिवभक्त· हरदत्ताचार्यः ।

V RAGHAVAN

Helārāja, not a Disciple of Bhartṛhari

In the preface to his edition of the Prakīrṇa Kāṇḍa of the *Vākyapadīya*, Trivandrum Series, No. 116, p. 4, K. Sambasiva Sastri observes: "It is not known when the commentator lived. But from the following two quotations which are ascribed to his Guru,

(1) तथा च—

"ता प्रातिपदिकार्थं च धात्वर्थं च प्रचक्षते" इति सत्तैव भावशब्दवाच्या गुरवः क्रियेति मन्यन्ते इति'।

(2) तथा चोक्तं गुरुभिः—

द्वेर्विन· परिमाणाख्याद्दशदर्थात्तदित्यतः ।
शतिजस्येति सङ्घाते दाशतेति निपातनात् ॥

and of which the first is traceable in the *Vākyapadīya*, he may be taken to be a disciple of Bhartṛhari himself. As the date of Bhartṛhari is said to be the latter half of the 7th century A.D., the same date may be assigned to his disciple Helārāja also."

I propose to give here some evidence which disproves this view that Helārāja was a disciple of Bhartṛhari. In a number of places in the *Prakīrṇaprakāśa*, his commentary on the Prakīrṇa Kāṇḍa, Helārāja notes variants in the reading and differences in the interpretation of the text. He also refers to previous commentators as केचित् or अन्ये. This shows that the *Vākyapadīya* had been commented upon by many others before him. These differences in readings and interpretation could not have cropped up so soon in Helārāja's time if he were a disciple of Bhartṛhari, nor could there be any reason making him note these differences with regard to a text received by him directly from his Guru, the author. He must have therefore been separated from the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, the great Bhartṛhari, by a sufficient length of time.

We have really no evidence at present to fix the date of Helārāja with certainty. On the one hand there is the significant fact that in spite of a large number of references to Mīmāṃsā doctrines in his commentary on the Prakīrṇa, there is no mention of Kumārila or for the matter of that, of any other Mīmāṃsaka posterior to Kumārila, nor is there a reference to Śaṃkara, although the Advaitic view is often expounded. Of course it is to be noted that the exposition of Advaita here is, as it should be, in accordance with the view of Bhartṛhari. It represents the pre-Śaṃkara phase of this

philosophical thought. But in spite of his immense indebtedness to Bhartrhari, Śamkara's position from his very appearance in the field has been such that no Advaitic writer after him could afford to ignore him. That Helārāja was a Buddhist is the view of some arm-chair orientalists who have had no patience with his work The evidence against this is so overwhelming that the view does not deserve even a passing consideration. I shall deal with it *in extenso* in a separate paper where I shall also give evidence against an equally erroneous view which regards Bhartṛhari, the great pre-Śamkara Advaitin as a Buddhist To set at rest for the present the curiosity of these theorists I may here draw their attention to p 86 of the Benares edition of the *Prakīrnakānda* (1933) where occurs the following remark by Helārāja.

यद्यपि शाक्यादिदर्शने नित्यं न भवति द्रव्यं तथापि तन्मतस्यानभ्युपगमाददोषः ।

To return to the present subject. On the other hand, the earliest known reference now to Helārāja is by Mādhava (14th Century) in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* His *Prakīrnaprakāśa* contains some quotations. No definite statement with regard to his date can be made unless an attempt is made to trace these to possible sources.

The date which Sambasiva Sastri assigns to Bhartrhari, is not acceptable Bhartrhari must be much earlier than this (See Dr. Kunhan Raja's paper "I-tsing and Bhartrhari's *Vākyapadīya*", *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 285 ff.).

I now give below from the *Prakīrnaprakāśa* some passages which note differences in readings and interpretation and which clearly show that the commentator was not a contemporary of the author

क्वचित्पाठः—

तथा सम्बन्धिसम्बन्धसंसर्गोऽपि प्रतीयते। इति। तत्रापि सम्बन्धिना सर्वसत्ता-धारेण सम्बध्यन्त इति सम्बन्धात् द्रव्यादिशक्तयः। तासां सम्बन्धानां शक्तीनामन्योन्य-संसर्गोऽप्यात्मभूत एवेति व्याख्या । (Pp. 24-25, Benares edn).

पूर्वं तु—

लक्षणा शब्दसंस्कारो व्यापारः कार्यसिद्धये। इति पठन्तो लक्षणा द्रव्योपलक्षणं तत्र शब्दसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगिद्रव्योपादानमिति तद्विषयत्वाच्छब्दसंस्कारो लक्षणेति सामानाधिकरण्यं व्याचक्षते। (p. 44).

अत्र केचित् 'क्रियायामङ्गभावस्य' इति पठन्तः प्रथमं क्रियायामङ्गभावस्य विधिरिति योजितवन्तः। (p 49)

अत एव संख्यायाः क्वचिद्व्यापारलक्षणो धर्मस्तेन लिङ्गेन गम्यत इत्यकारप्रश्लेषं केचिद्व्याचक्षते किल। (p. 55)

केचित्पुनराहुः—सगुण इत्येतदेव स्फुटीकृतं सहैकत्वेनेति । अत्र तु पौनरुक्त्यं दोषः । न हि कारिकाभागस्य भागान्तरेण व्याख्यानं युक्तम् । (p. 58).

अन्ये व्याचक्षते। घटज्ञानाद्बाह्यविषयादघटज्ञानमित्येवं ज्ञानं ज्ञानभिन्नं न विषयप्रविष्टं ... ... ।

अन्ये तु व्याचक्षते । घटज्ञानमिति ज्ञानं विषयो यस्य तत् घटज्ञानविलक्षणम् । (p. 82-83)

नीललोहितपीताद्यैस्तद्वर्णमुपलभ्यते । इत्यपरोऽत्रागमपाठः (p 117).

तेनाकर्तृकर्मणी आश्रयो यस्याः साधनाधीनजन्मत्वादित्युभयमपि पाठे .. ... ।

पुनश्च कर्मभावेन तमिति क्वचित्पाठः । (p. 119).

केचिद्व्याचक्षते नायं पूर्वशब्दो देशं देशरूपेण कथयति ... . । (p. 161).

अन्ये नगादीनां सावयवानां छायातपाभ्यां भागभेदः प्रकल्पते . ... इति व्याचक्षते ।

(p. 165).

There are a few more passages of this kind. But I think the above are sufficient to bear out my view

The term 'Guru' does not mean 'preceptor' alone. It means also 'revered' or 'learned'. For instance, in the following line Bhartrhari refers to Patañjali as Guru but the latter was not the formers' preceptor.

कृते ऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।

(*Vākyapadīya*, 2 485)

Bhartrhari is one of the greatest *philosophers* India has produced To the modern orientalists he is known more as the greatest grammarian after Patañjali But when a careful and exhaustive study of the *Vākyapadīya* is made, and the philosophical content of the work is brought home to the generality of orientalists who cannot have access to it at present, the world of scholars will know to what extent Gaudapāda, Mandana, Śamkara and others are indebted to this philosopher Ancient India held this great philosopher in high reverence Eminent Śaivas like Abhinavagupta refer to him as Bhagavān It is therefore proper that the commentator Helārāja should refer to him as Guru The commentary ends with a reference to him as जगतां गुरुः

सूक्तिश्रियः स्फुटा एता जयन्ति जगतां गुरोः ।
हरेर्भाष्याब्धिपीयूषच्छटाच्छुरितविग्रहाः ॥

I would like also to draw here attention of scholars to an important name occurring in the present Helārājīya It is found both in a Ms. (a

modern paper transcript, No. 39 H. 25) of the Adyar Library and also in the printed edition (Benares) On p 198 of the Benares edition there is the following remark:

इतो ग्रन्थपातसंधानाय फुल्लराजकृतिर्लिख्यते ।

Again on p 214 there is the remark:

इहापि पतितग्रन्थो हेलाराजकृतिः फुल्लराजकृत्या संधीयते ।

These remarks are found also in pp. 612 and 663, respectively, of the Adyar Library Ms. In the latter instance it occurs here as Bhullarāja, which is probably a scribal error It cannot be that in all these places 'Phullarāja' is a mistake for 'Puṇyarāja' It is clear from these remarks that one Phullarāja has also commented upon the *Vākyapadīya* The name is not found anywhere else. An attempt is worth making to unearth the commentary. It is not known who filled in the gaps. The real extent of the gaps is also unknown Future editors of the work will have to note this fact. Some old manuscripts of the *Prakīrnaprakāśa* have been collected by K Sambasiva Sastri for the edition of the work in the Trivandrum Series (vide his preface). May we not therefore hope that the editor of the further portion of this important work (only a part has now been published) in the Series will throw some light on this problem?

K MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

REVIEWS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA ĀRANYAKA-PARVAN, critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar. Fascicules 11 and 12 (Vol. III and IV). Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1942. Pp i-xlii, 1,110.

The fascicules 11 and 12, comprising volumes 3 and 4 of the critical edition and the third Book of the Epic, completes the Āranyaka-parvan, with full critical apparatus, introduction and notes, in more than 1,150 pages, having been prepared and seen through the Press by the General Editor himself It is now full seventeen years since Sukthankar took over charge, in 1925, of the Mahābhārata work of the Bhandarkar Institute and reorganised it on its present lines, having profited by the experiment and experience of his predecessor, N B Utgikar The first fascicule of the Ādi appeared in 1927, and subsequent fascicules followed at regular intervals It is gratifying to find that, in spite of the magnitude and complexity of the work and difficulties of many kinds, the Institute is now able to publish critical editions of four whole Parvans, namely, the Ādi 1933 (V. S. Sukthankar), the Virāta 1936 (Raghu Vira) the Udyoga 1940 (S K De) and the Āranyaka 1942 (V S Sukthankar) In addition to this, the Sabhā, edited by F Edgerton, has nearly the whole text, with its critical apparatus, already printed off, and is expected to be published in the near future, while the press-copy of the Bhīsma, edited by S K Belvalkar, is almost ready and is being revised finally Thus, during the period of seventeen years ,the Institute, under the general editorship of Sukthankar, dealt with the first *six* Parvans of the Great Epic, namely, the Ādi, Sabhā, Āranyaka, Virāta, Udyoga and Bhīsma All this comprises nearly one-fourth of the entire text, but in bulk it is four times as great as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* put together, and about one and half times as great as the *Rāmāyana*, while in the difficulty of critically editing the text, it perhaps yields to none of the great epics mentioned The General Editor can legitimately take pride in what he modestly characterises as "no mean achievement", and when we consider the high standard of workmanship displayed throughout, there can be no question that even what is so far accomplished is a great achievement.

But in the midst of this satisfactory state of affairs, an unforeseen calamity happens, and the happy completion of the present Book of the *Mahābhārata* becomes associated with a deeply melancholy incident. Its

publication almost synchronised with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute, held on the 4th and 5th of January, 1943, at which the volume, marking the end of the first stage of the vast work, was formally presented. But very soon after this, on the 21st January, occurred the sad and sudden death of the General Editor, Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, in the midst of his achievement and actually in harness, after a brief illness lasting only for a few hours. We could not afford to lose him in the maturity of his powers, for he had given us great things but we expected even greater things from him He was not only our great Pathikrt in the critical study of the *Mahābhārata* text, but also a great scholar who vindicated the prestige of Indian scholarship in the eyes of the world. In the light of his passing away, the concluding portion of his Introduction to the present work reads almost like taking a final farewell. But it is extremely depressing to think that he will be here no more to lead the little party of explorers, among whom the present reviewer had the privilege of counting himself as one, through what he himself calls "the big forest" of epic textual complexities to "the yet distant Utopia of a complete critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*" One of his colleagues, who knew him well, rightly says that "personally Dr Sukthankar himself would have considered his untimely death as a far less tragedy than the stopping of his great work in the history of critical scholarship in India, and it behoves every one concerned to exert his best to see that the splendid record which he established at the Institute by seventeen years of brilliant sustained work shall not be left to mould or be spoiled by uncritical handling".

The Āranyaka-Parvan itself, with its vast and rich content, is a gigantic forest of ancient Indian myths and legends, but we can think of no better and surer guide than the General Editor himself The episodic, legendary matter covered by this Book is largely Purānic in character, which constitutes its value, being as important and indispensable as the didactic and philosophic matter of the Śānti and Anuśāsana in understanding the basic plan and distinctive character of the Epic It is rightly pointed out that such episodic material, in general, is not subsequent elaboration, secondarily introduced, but must have formed a part of the original plan to serve the purpose of filling up what are called "temporal hiatuses" in the narrative, namely, the twelve years' exile in the forest and the long interval between the Bhārata War and the last adventures of the Pāṇḍavas. Many of these stories and legends are also found narrated in the Purāṇas, chiefly in the

Skanda, *Padma* and *Brahma*, but the parallelism of verbal expression of Epic and Purānic narratives is so close and striking that the possibility of their having originated independently of each other is distinctly ruled out. On examination it is found that the Āranyaka account of Pulastya Tīrthayātrā, in the same way as the cosmological and geographical account of the Bhīsma, appears to be the source of the Padma-Purāna version Again, the Skanda-Purāna version of the 108 names of the Sun appears to be a replica of the Mahābhārata text of the Āranyaka passage There may be a few cases, like the Story of Sāvitrī (which occurs also in the *Vāyu-Purāna*,) where the Mahābhārata and the Purānas may have drawn independently from a common third source, but in most cases it appears that the compilers of our late versions of the Purānas have drawn their material from the Mahābhārata narratives It is noteworthy in this connexion, on the other hand, that the Rāmopākhyāna of the Āranyaka as Jacobi pointed out long ago (against Hopkins), is now found to be an epitome of the *Rāmāyana*

Of all the stories in the Āranyaka, the most interesting and important are the Tale of Nala, the Rsyaśrnga Legend and the Story of Sāvitrī, and they are now critically edited here for the first time The average reader will probably miss the piquant episode of the Temptation of Arjuna by Urvaśī now relegated to the Appendix (I, no 6, 162 lines), but it is rightly excluded from the critical text on documentory and intrinsic evidence The same remark applies to the omission, in the critical text, of certain lengthy Vaisnavite interpolations, namely, the story of the killing of Naraka by Visnu and the rescue of the Earth by the Boar Incarnation (App I, no 16, 128 lines), and the somewhat jejune episode of the Visit of Durvāsas to Yudhisthira, along with an alarming crowd of hungry mendicants, and the miraculous suspension of their hunger by Krsna (App I, no 25, 154 lines), as well as the naive passage on Karna's conquest of the world (App I, no 24, 102 lines) The number of such more or less lengthy passages, relegated to the Appendix, is 31, that of small passages, given in the footnotes, 1388, and yet the present critical text reaches the enormous dimension of 16 Sub-parvans and 299 Adhyāyas The verses are not, for certain reasons, computed by the Editor, but the number is probably not less than 7,000. The Critical Edition, however, by its purging of undoubted accretions, presents the *shortest* text, when compared with those of the previous Calcutta, Bombay and Madras editions, which vary between 11,000 to 13,000 verses and consists generally of 315 Adhyāyas

The constituted text of the Āraṇyaka (it is noteworthy that no MS calls it Vana!) is based on 28 manuscripts, at the head of which stands the unique and valuable birch-bark Śāradā Codex, which was used with great advantage also for the Ādi ,and which presents here also the best and shortest extant version of the Parvan. The utilisation of this old and genuine Kāśmīrī MS is a most fortunate circumstance, for the Śāradā version is now recognised to be, in many respects, the most faithful representative of the original now extant. It compensates, in this Parvan, the lack of the important testimonium of Devabodha's oldest commentary, which for other Parvans where it is available, is found to be closely allied to the Śāradā-K version. The other versions represented in the critical apparatus are "K" (4 MSS), Bengali (4), Devanāgarī, including the versions of Caturbhuja and Nīlakantha (11), Telugu (2), Grantha (4) and Malayālam (2). Of the eleven Devanāgarī (D) MSS, at least three (D1-3), on the Editor's own showing, can be classified as K, but this is balanced by the fact that K2 and K4, if not K1, are so heavily conflated that they might as well be classified as D MSS. Indeed K and D, both being non-homogenous groups and written in Devanāgarī, present the greatest difficulty for exact classification of individual MSS. As Malayālam is undoubtedly the best of the Southern versions, it is unfortunate that not more than two Malayālam MSS (and they are not admittedly the best of the type) could be found and utilised. The important evidence of the Javanese version, which also could not be found, is, unfortunately again, missing for this Parvan. Arjunamiśra's commentary was occasionally consulted, but since no good MSS were available, its readings could not be given, nor fully utilised.

In spite of these handicaps, it must be said that the text of the Āraṇyaka is quite satisfactorily constituted. Comparatively speaking, the text of this Parvan is remarkably smooth, and offers no extraordinary difficulties. This may be seen from the paucity of important variants and of the editorial wavy line indicative of disconcerting parallelism and uncertainty. The many large and small additions are neatly inserted passages which can be removed without damage to the text, while the inevitable discrepancies between the recensions and versions are not exceptional but quite normal. There are, as the Editor points out, no transpositions of any consequence and very few "substitute" passages, that is to say, passages parallel in general sense but worded divergently, as we have them so much in the

Virāta. But there is one noteworthy fact The Southern Recension (S) in this Parvan, though considerably inflated in itself, is not longer, as we have it in Ādi and Virāta, but actually much smaller than the Northern Vulgate, which contains fourteen whole Adhyāyas entirely lacking in S This fact is interesting, for it shows that the process of inflation is not uniform throughout the Epic, and that each Parvan has its own distinctive textual features The individual characteristics of the various versions in this Parvan, however, are almost the same as they are in the case of other Parvans already published, with perhaps the slight exception that Southern Grantha here appears to be much more contaminated from the Northern Recension

The Editor's long, intensive and mature experience, his skill, scholarship and alertness, his mastery of critical methods and soundness of judgment, to which we are accustomed ever since the publication of his edition of the Ādi, are fully maintained in this edition of the Āranyaka It is sad to reflect that it is the last great work that we get from him but it will, with Ādi, remain as an illustrious monument of what Indian scholarship can achieve in this difficult sphere, and as a solid reminder of his unflagging zeal, singleness of devotion and prolonged scholarly activity, which truly and firmly laid the foundations of the stupendous Mahābhārata work.

S K De

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE RĀMĀYANA, by N A Gore, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, S P College, Poona Published by the Author, Poona 1943. Pp vi, 99

This small work is an interesting and useful contribution to Epic Studies Even if tentative and imperfect, it is conceived in the proper spirit, and makes the right beginning towards the compilation of bibliographical material, which the growing vastness and extremely specialised character of every branch of oriental study necessitates The work gives a compilation of most of the noteworthy publications on the Rāmāyana, including in its scope Text-editions, Translations, Adaptations, and Critical and and Literary Notices or Studies in journals or separate publications. In some cases the compiler adds short notes on the general content or substance of important works or articles. The number of entries is 366. But even a cursory glance through the work reveals some important omissions, e.g.,

Haraprasad Shastri's Preface to his *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. v (Calcutta 1928), in which the learned Shastri discusses many questions relating to the Rāmāyana, H. C. Raychaudhuri in *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 24-35, on the relation of the two Epics, V. Narayan Aiyar in *JOR*, xi, on the Nalopākhyāna and Sundarakānda, etc. The British Museum (Haas and Barnett), India Office (Prananath and Chaudhuri), and Berlin (Gottschalk) Catalogues, as well as the Union List (Emeneau), of Printed Books should have been consulted for revision and enrichment, and even the older Bibliography of Gildmeister cannot be overlooked. A section on Rāmāyana MSS can also be usefully added. The references to publications in Indian languages other than Marathi are naturally not complete. These deficiencies need not, however, be exaggerated in a first attempt, which is laudable indeed A beginning has been made, and let us hope that our young and enthusiastic author will, in due course, make his Bibliography as exhaustive and indispensable as possible

S K De

BHĀRATER SAṂSKRTI (Bengali) by Ksitimohan Sen, (*Viśvavidyā-samgraha* no 2) Visvabharati Book Depôt, Calcutta Pages double crown one-sixteenth 76, 1943

In this brochure Prof Sen has traced in broad outlines the characteristic development of Indian culture from its component elements Aryan and non-Aryan as well as native and foreign With an array of well-chosen facts and arguments he has shown what a great debt we owe to our pre-Aryan forefathers for our present day culture and how on account of a singularly catholic view of life which came from these non-Aryan forerunners, Indian culture stands foremost in the world as regards its high idealism and deep sympathy for humanity Though this work treats mostly of religious and philosophical questions, important sociological facts of ancient Hindu life have not been overlooked In it one will find, with a brief treatment the origin and development of Indian religious mysticism much original discussion about the survival of various pre-Aryan rites and customs along with Aryan heritage of similar types. For example from Prof. Sen one learns for the first time that our *śrāddha* ceremony is almost entirely of pre-Āryan origin. Clear and convincing arguments emphasising the synthetic character of Indian culture, which he had so ably compressed

into small volume will, it may be expected, open up new avenues of research in Indian cultural origin We are thankful to Prof Sen for this very valuable work which though written for general readers will be read with much interest and profit even by specialists

MONOMOHAN GHOSH

THE ART OF WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA by P C Chakravarti, M A (Dac), Ph.D (Lond) Published by the University of Dacca 1941.

In spite of the emphasis given to philosophical and religious aspects of Indian culture by western scholars and their disciples, ancient Indian people cannot by any means be considered to have been averse to various worldly pursuits Hence an historical enquiry into the art of fighting in ancient India very legitimately demands the attention of scholars. Pioneer work done by Gustav Oppert on the subject some sixty years ago (*On the Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880.) has already been antiquated with the discovery of new materials, literary as well as archaeological, and other workers in the field such as Hopkins and Ray touched only parts of the subject Hence we are to welcome Dr. Chakravarti's work giving us mostly an exhaustive and up-to-date treatment of this very fascinating aspect of ancient Indian culture In it the author has discussed the following topics · (Ch I) The Army and a general sketch of its composition, (II) Strength of Armies, (III) the Infantry, (IV) War chariots, (V) the Cavalry, (VI) Elephants (VII) Naval War-fare, (VIII) Military espionage, (IX) Military administration, (X) Army on the march, (XI) The Camp (XII) Army in the field, (XIII) Fortification and Siege-craft, (XIV) On Arms and Armour Undoubtedly the work removes a longfelt want, for an adequate knowledge of the various means and methods of fighting which in India, as anywhere else, was one of the principle occupations of people, we may fail to appreciate the material basis of Indian civilization and this failure may be detrimental to a proper understanding of the spirit and meaning of our ancient culture Hence we sincerely congratulate Dr. Chakravarti on the production of this very useful and interesting work. A good bibliography and index have added to the value of the work and its printing and get up are also excellent

MONOMOHAN GHOSH

PESHWA MADHAVA RAO I by A. C Banerjee, M.A, P.R.S., Professor, City College, Calcutta, published by A Mukherjee & Bros., Calcutta

A student of Indo-British history thinks that the most important factor of eighteenth century Indian History is the rise of the British power in its second half An observer, in the eighteenth century, on the other hand, must have been impressed by two quite different trends—the gradual weakening and then the collapse of the Mughal power and the steady growth of the Maratha power as also its almost inevitable decline Irvine and Sarkar have given us a complete story of the decline of the Mughal power. Grant Duff gave us an authoritative account of the Marathas long ago. But Sardesai, Khare and other devoted scholars have made available to us a mass of information on Maratha history not available before, necessitating a start anew. The mass of material is now so overwhelming that even a very assiduous scholar must feel satisfied if he can write a learned monograph covering a decade in five years He cannot otherwise hope to be exhaustive.

Mr. A. C Banerjee deals with the history of the greatest of the Peshwas, whose early death precipitated the inevitable decline of the Maratha power He has collected his data with great care and caution and has presented his materials in a very attractive manner Many dark corners have been lighted up Raghunath Rao, Janoji Bhonsle, Nizam Ali, Haidar Ali, Mahadji Sindhia, Nana Fadnavis and other historical personalities can be seen from a new angle of vision The factual basis of Maratha history between 1761-1772 is securely laid for years to come

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

STUDIES ON SOME CONCEPTS OF THE ALANKĀRA SĀSTRA by V Raghavan, M.A, Ph D, Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras The Adyar Library Series—No 33. The Adyar Library, Adyar, 1942

The book contains a collection of papers of Dr Raghavan, published in different oriental journals, concerning historical investigation on the growth and development of a number of concepts in Sanskrit Poetics, e.g, laksana, svabhāvokti, bhāvika, rīti, vrtti, aucitya and camatkāra Two interesting chapters deal with the use and abuse of alankāra in Sanskrit

literature and the evolution of the names of Sanskrit Poetics, which in its early stages, it is shewn, was called Kriyākalpa. A good deal of valuable information relating to various principles of literary criticism as known to and expounded by Indian savants of different ages will be found scattered through the pages of the book Thus, though apparently written for Sanskritists, the book, at le. some of the chapters, may be read with profit by all people possessing taste for literature, if they take the trouble of passing over the nume Sanskrit quotations and tolerating occasional Sanskritic expression found in it With an eye to the convenience of comparative study and clarity of expression reference has been made from time to time to the views of western writers For a correct appreciation of the view-points of the old rhetoricians the learned author has consulted not only most of the printed Sanskrit texts and modern studies based on them, but also a number of manuscripts belonging to the Madras Oriental Library

It is hoped the book will draw the attention of readers to many an interesting problem and arouse a keen interest in further investigations leading to the publication of a comprehensive work on Indian Poetics, catering to the needs of the cultured reader in general

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Calcutta Review, February, 1943

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*Dharmavijaya and Dhammavijaya* The term *Dharmavijaya* used in the *Mahābhārata* and the treatises on polity means a conquest where the conqueror has no greed for other's territory and is satisfied simply with the recognition of his suzerainty by the opponent For the achievement of this end, the use of force is not forbidden The conception of *Cakkavatti* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* gives an idea of *Dhammavijaya* as found in the Buddhist canonical literature This kind of conquest (vijaya) is to be effected by means of a superior moral power only In the *Dhammavijaya* as promulgated by Aśoka in his Rock Edicts the use of any kind of force against any one is altogether prohibited and even a pursuit after fame and glory is deprecated These three concepts of *Dharmavijaya* have been analysed in this paper and their inter-relation discussed

Ibid., March, 1943

SRI RAM SARMA.—*Administration of Justice in the Mughal Empire*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVIII, pt. 4 (December, 1942)

A. C PERUMALIL.—*A Few Christian Writers on Early India* Continued from the previous issue of the Journal, the paper shows that the Greek and Roman writers of the early period ranging from the time of Alexander the Great to the fall of Alexandria in 641 A C had a fairly accurate knowledge about the geography of India Their writings contain descriptions of plants, animals, and people of the country Accounts left by several ecclesiastical writers have been discussed in this instalment of the paper, showing that these authors committed no mistake in regard to the identity of India as some modern European writers have opined.

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI.—*The Indian Cow-herd God* The article is in support of the view that Gopāla-Krsna was a deity of Ābhīra origin The theory of Christian borrowings in the concept of Krsna is rejected on the ground that there is a fundamental difference between the cult

of Bāla-Gopāla and the conception of child Jesus, the former having no room for the mother in the cult and the latter being essentially an exaltation of the Mother The Puranic story of Krsna's opposition to the festival held in honour of the Brahmanical deity Indra and his advocacy for a primitive type of nature-worship and animal-worship instead are regarded as evidence of the tribal nature of the religion that was preached by him It is suggested that Gopāla-Krsna was a tribal hero of the nomadic Gopas, being later on identified with the earlier epic hero Vāsudeva-Krsna

BIMANBIHARI MAJUMDAR – *Bhanitās in Vidyāpati's Padas* *Bhanitās* are the personal reflections introduced by an author towards the end of his song or poem A statistical analysis of the *Bhanitās* found in different manuscripts of the poems of Vidyāpati has been attempted here This will be helpful in picking out the genuine ones from among the vast number of Padas that are attributed to the great mediaeval poet of Mithilā.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1942, pt 2

ILYA GERSHEVITCH —*On the Sogdian Vessantara Jātaka*

DORA GORDINE —*A Lecture on the Sculpture of Indo-China, Siam and Java*

Karnataka Historical Review, vol VI, pts 1 & 2

R S PANCHAMUKHI —*Jainism in Karnātaka and Bhatkal Finds* A survey of Bhatkal Pethā and its surroundings on the West coast of the Bombay Karnātaka area has resulted in the discovery of various objects of Jain antiquity like the bronze and stone images of the Jain pantheon and lithic records bearing on the management and conduct of Jain worship in the Jain *basadi* An account of the state of Jainism obtaining in the area has been given on the basis of the data furnished by the new finds

New Indian Antiquary, vol V, no. 10 (January, 1943)

JAGAN NATH —*The Haraha Inscription and the Epoch of the Gupta Era* In this reply to the rejoinder of Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee, the writer sticks to his stand contending that "the Haraha Inscription does not contain any information that can upset the epoch of the Gupta era as determined by Fleet, and subsequently modified by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar"

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN —*Nandivarman II and the Siege of Nandipuram* The Udayendiram Plates of the reign of Nandivarman II Pallava Malla contain the information that Nandivarman II was besiged in Nandipuram by the Dramila Princes. Evidence has been adduced to show that this Nandipuram known also as Āyirattali was a fortified Coḷa capital near Kumbakonam Palaiāru formed a part of Nandipuram

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE —*The Krta Era* Arguments are here put forward in support of the writer's contention that the Gupta era was started in 58 B.C and Krta era 400 years earlier about 450 B.C when the Mālava Republic was established,—an event which was considered by the Mālavas as marking "the ushering in of the Krta or Golden Age"

Nagpur University Journal, no 7 (December 1941)

H C SETH —*The Age of Zoroaster and the Rgveda* A close affinity is shown to exist between the hymns of the *Rgveda* and the Gāthās of Zoroaster who has been assigned in the paper to the 6th century B C The Vedas and the Avesta alike contain, in the opinion of the writer, reference to a number of persons and events of the time. The conclusion is reached therefore that certain hymns of the *Rgveda* belong to this period

V V MIRASHI —*New Light on the History of the Paramāra Dynasty* The emended reading of an expression in a line of the Nagpur Museum Stone Inscription together with the corroborative evidence of a newly discovered record found incised on the architrave of an old temple at Dongargaon in the Yeotmal district of Berar gives clue to the fact that Mālwā was invaded after Bhoja's death by a confederacy of powers formed, it is surmised, by king Karna of the Kalacuri dynasty, Someśvara II of the later Cālukya dynasty and Udayāditya of the Western Ganga dynasty as the leading members Jayasimha, the ruling Paramāra king of the time succumbed to this attack, but Udayāditya, a brother of Bhoja as known from the Dongargaon inscription, rescued the Paramāra kingdom from the hands of the enemies. The Dongargaon record reveals the fact that Udayāditya nominated his youngest son Jagaddeva to the Paramāra throne, which the latter relinquished in favour of this elder brother Lakṣmadeva.

HIRALAL JAIN —*Paiśācī Traits in the Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*

from Chinese Turkestan The language of the Kharosthī records discovered in Chinese Turkestan conforming largely to the peculiarities of the Paiśācī dialect of the Prakrit grammarians seems to be a variety of the Prakrit that is said to have been spoken by the Bhūtas and Piśācas belonging to the tribes of the North-Western border of India.

S P CHATURVEDI—*On References to Earlier Grammarians in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Forms sanctioned by them* Pāṇini mentions opinions of Pūrvācāryas in the cases where he differs from them An alphabetical list of these Ācāryas with descriptive notes on the forms allowed by them has been appended

Poona Orientalist, vol VII, nos 1 & 2 (April & July, 1942)

HAR DUTT SHARMA—*Paraśuramapratāpa* The *Paraśurāmapratāpa* is a voluminous work in 16 kāndas dealing with the general topics of Dharmaśāstra Its real author Kūrmasūri applied his industry and scholarship to the work for the sake of his pupil Pratāparāja who had been under the patronage of 'Nizam Shah of Ahmadpur' identified by some with Burhan Shah Nizam Shah ruling in Ahmadnagar in the middle of the 16th century The mss of the work deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute have been described here and a list of treatises and authors mentioned in it has been appended The importance of the list lies in the fact that many of the names found in it are quite unknown

R SHAMASHASTRI—*The Pañcajanas* The writer of the paper is inclined to hold many of the stories and statements in the Vedas and Purānas as referring to various astronomical phenomena. The *Pañcajanas* mentioned in Vedic literature are, according to him, five minor planets

SADASIVA L KATRE—*A Family of Learned Authors on Jyautiṣa* Passages in the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi*, an astrological work by Nārāyana, contain details about the literary activities of the author and two other members of his family Dādābhatta and Mādhava These scholars of the 18th century made a fair contribution to one or other branch of Jyotiḥśāstra

G N CHAKRAVARTHY—*Poetry and Romanticism in the Rgveda*

P. K GODE—*Karpūrīya Śivadatta and his Medical Treatises—between A D. 1625 and 1700*

E P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—*Narendrapurī, a forgotten Advaitin.* Narendra is quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* as a commentator on Prakāśātman's famous *Vivarana* He is also known to have written on the Sārasvata system of grammar. It is conjectured that he had commented on the Upanisadbhāṣyas of Śaṅkara. A manuscript of a *tippana* definitely written by him on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Chāndogyopanisad* is available in the Madras Oriental Mss Library This work of Narendrapurī deserves a careful study inasmuch as the author is earlier than Ānandagiri, the well-known interpreter of Śankara's *bhāṣyas*

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI —*Tithiviveka of Śūlapāni* The editing of this Smṛti work is completed in this instalment.

M M PATKAR —*Śabdaratnāvalī* The *Śabdaratnāvalī* is a Sanskrit lexicon by Mathureśa who compiled his work under the patronage of Musa Khān, a Muslim chief of Bengal in the early 17th century

H C. SETH —*The Date of the Bhārata Battle* The great conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāndavas is surmised to have taken place when the Brāhmana literature is believed to have been in the midst of its development in the 6th century B.C

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol XXXIII, nos 2 & 3 (October, 1942 & January, 1943)

B. G TAMASKAR —*The Dharangaon Factory and Sivaji* A factory of the East India Company at Dharangaon to the south of Burhanpur and the Tapti river was plundered by Śivaji's forces once in 1675 and again in 1679 without any order from their chief Though friendly with these English factors, Sivaji disowned responsibility for the offence committed by his men and declined to make good the loss sustained by the company

L. V RAMASWAMI AIYAR —*Līlātilakam on Malayālam Inflections*

M B NARASIMHA IYENGAR —*Nyāyabhāskara of Anantārya* The treatise is being translated into English

K S VAIDYANATHAN —*The Date of the Coḷa Conquest of the Bāṇa Country* A Tamil inscription commemorates the death of a soldier when Mānamūrti captured the cows at Poṇnai in the third year of the reign of Parakeśarivarman (Cola king Parāntaka I). The find-spot of the record, Viriñcipuram in the North Arcot District, lies in the heart

of the ancient Bāna territory, and Ponnai, the scene of the fight is identified with Ponnur within the same district. Mānamurti mentioned in the inscription might have been a general of the Coḷa king Parāntaka I who seems to have raided the Bāna kingdom in the 3rd year of his reign that corresponds to A C 910. As it is known from other sources that Parāntaka I had subdued two Bāṇa chiefs, the facts mentioned in the present record help to arrive at the conclusion that the Cola king Parāntaka I invaded the Bāna country in 910 A C and defeated the contemporary Bāna king Vijayāditya along with his son Vikramaditya.

L. K. Balaratnam—*The Thiruvatirai Festival of Malabar*. The festival described here is annually held by the Malayalees of Kerala in the month of Pausa in commemoration of the destruction brought to the mythical god of love Kamadeva by Śiva.

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